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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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POE AS A LITERARY CRITIC

BY JOHN ESTEN COOKE

Edited with an introduction and notes

By N. BRYLLION FAGIN

This essay by the Virginia novelist John Esten Cooke, written a century ago, has just been published for the first time. It was discovered in a private collection and has now been edited with an introduction and notes by N. Bryllion Fagin of the Johns Hopkins University. Written immediately after Poe's death, the essay contains a vivid sketch of Poe as a lecturer and reflects contemporary opinion on Poe's life and work. This is a rare item of interest to all Poe collectors, libraries, and teachers of American literature. A facsimile of a page of the MS. is printed as a frontispiece. Price \$1.00.

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THE ALLEGED FIRST FOREIGN ESTIMATE OF SHAKESPEARE

According to the late Ambassador Jusserand, Nicolas Clément was the first Frenchman to express an opinion about Shakespeare. He made this statement because a librarian at the Bibliothèque Nationale had reported to him that a slip forming part of a catalogue made by Clément between 1675 and 1684 read as follows:

Will. Shakespeare

Poeta anglicus

Opera poetica, continentia tragœdias, comœdies et historiolas. Angle,
Lond. Th. Cotes, 1632, fo.

Eadem Tragœdias et comœdias anglie. Lond. W. Leake, 1641, 4^o.

Ce poete anglois a l'imagination assés belle, jl pense naturellement, jl s'exprime avec finesse; mais ces belles qualitez sont obscurees par les ordures qu'il mèle dans ses Comédies.

Jusserand published his find in the *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature* for Nov. 14, 1887, adding that he owed "à l'obligeance de M. Barringer d'avoir pu prendre connaissance de la page relative à Shakespeare." This does not mean that he actually saw the slip. Barringer may have copied it for him. But in *Shakespeare in France under the Ancien Régime*¹ he referred to the "original slip which I discovered some years ago," implying that he had seen it himself.

Other scholars have accepted his belief that the comment expressed Clément's personal opinion of Shakespeare. Ascoli quoted his statement in his *Grande Bretagne devant l'opinion publique française au XVII^e siècle*.² M. Bonno followed Ascoli in his recent

¹ London, Unwin, 1899, p. 170.

² Paris, Gamber, 1930, II, 150. Ascoli changed "dans ses Comédies" to

work, *La culture et la civilisation britanniques devant l'opinion française de la paix d'Utrecht aux Lettres philosophiques, 1713-1734*.³ M. Van Tieghem reproduced the Jusserand statement in his *Préromantisme, la Découverte de Shakespeare sur le continent*,⁴ though he expressed surprise that an opinion of this sort should have been written at so early a date. Neither he nor the others asked whether Jusserand had actually seen the slip, whether the comment is in the same hand as the earlier portion of the entry.

Last summer I asked Dr. L. O. Forkey to examine the slip. After he had done so, he informed me that the first part of the entry is written in a formal hand, almost as if the letters had been engraved, but that the comment is in a flowing hand and written with darker ink. His impression was confirmed by that of the librarian whom he consulted. It is consequently obvious that Clément did not write the comment and that it may have been added to the slip at a much later date.

That it was so added is shown by the fact that it is found in the *Mercure de France* for June, 1727:⁵

Cet Auteur, dit M. Collier en sa Critique du Théâtre Anglois, a l'imagination assez belle, il pense naturellement, il s'exprime avec finesse; mais ces belles qualitez sont obscurcies par les ordures qu'il mêle dans ses Comedies.

As no two men could compose independently identical comments of this length, one must be a copy of the other. Apparently one of Nicolas Clément's successors copied on the slip, in 1727 or subsequently, the comment he had read in the popular magazine. This is certainly a far more reasonable conclusion than to suppose that a writer for the *Mercure* thought of examining a slip at the Bibliothèque du Roi, or that, if the comment were already there, he should be allowed to have access to it. Jusserand's discovery is consequently of no importance in dating knowledge of Shakespeare on the continent, for before 1727 there had been other observations that show greater familiarity with the dramatist.⁶

"à ses tragédies." J. G. Robertson (*MLR*, 1 (1905), 312) accepted as genuine Jusserand's discovery, as did C. M. Haines, *Shakespeare in France*, London, 1925, p. 5.

³ Published in the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. xxxviii, Part I. He quotes from Ascoli on p. 53.

⁴ Paris, Sfelt, 1947, pp. 4, 5.

⁵ P. 1449.

⁶ Cf. Van Tieghem, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6, and Bonno, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-8.

Now is it true that the comment comes from Collier? When I read the article, I expected to find the original of the comment either in Collier's *Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage*, or in the French translation of 1715.⁷ But such is not the case. Collier and his translator make several disparaging references to Shakespeare, but their texts resemble that of the *Mercure* only in a reference to the poet's obscenity:⁸

Ce qu'il merite du côté de l'esprit, il le perd du côté de la conduite; & suivant la fortune de Plaute, par tout où il est plus obscène, il est ordinairement moins sensé.

Moreover, Professor Bonno has shown⁹ that the article in the *Mercure* is largely a textual reproduction of pages from a *Dissertation sur la Poésie Angloise* that appeared at The Hague in 1717, forming part of the *Journal littéraire*.¹⁰ The comment in question, though absent from this production as well as from Collier, could easily have been composed, if the writer combined the latter's emphasis upon indecency with an estimate like the following:¹¹

Cet Auteur avoit à coup seur du génie infiniment, comme il écrivoit, pour ainsi dire, à tout hazard, il attrapoit de tems en tems des traits inimitables, mais souvent ils sont accompagnés de choses si peu nobles, qu'on peut douter, si dans ses écrits la bassesse releve le sublime, ou si c'est le sublime qui fait sentir plus fortement la bassesse. . . . tirant tout de sa propre imagination, . . .

It would seem, then, that a journalist, who may never have read a line of Shakespeare, composed an article for the *Mercure* largely by lifting material from the *Journal littéraire*; that he knew the translation of Collier's *Short View*, borrowed from it the reference to obscenity, and mentioned Collier probably to give himself a reputation for honesty that he did not deserve; that a sentence in which he made a rough summary of what had been said in his sources was picked up by someone on the staff of the Bibliothèque

⁷ *La Critique du Théâtre Anglois, comparé au théâtre d'Athènes, de Rome et de France, et l'opinion des Auteurs tant profanes que sacrés touchant les Spectacles. De l'Anglois de M. Collier.* Paris, Nicolas Simart, 1715. I am obliged to my colleague, Dr. Malakis, for the loan of his copy of this book.

⁸ P. 83.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

¹⁰ IX, 157-216.

¹¹ *Dissertation*, p. 203.

du Roi and was copied on the slip originally made out by Nicolas Clément. It follows that, apart from translators of English writings, the first foreigner to devote more than a few words to Shakespeare was the author of this *Dissertation of 1717*.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

JOHNSON'S SHAKESPEAREAN LABORS IN 1765

Little is known about Johnson's progress on his Shakespeare between 1756 and 1765, nor is the question whether there actually was progress during most of these years settled by Boswell. Johnson's *Proposals* were published in June, 1756; and it is reasonable to infer that in that year he was working on the first volume of his edition. In November, 1757, a month before the promised date of publication, Percy wrote that Johnson was still on the second volume,¹ and, in January, 1758, that he had not completed the third.² After 1758 references to Johnson's progress disappear from the record.

Although it is impossible to trace that progress volume by volume or year by year, it is possible to follow it quite closely in 1765. Hazen has shown that Johnson advertised publication for August 1 of that year, that on July 31 he postponed publication "for a few weeks," that in August and September he re-wrote certain of the notes too bitter in their criticism of Warburton, and that he finally published October 10, 1765.³ The following items fill in the more important gaps in our chronology.

1. Johnson's note to *Othello* II. iii. 81 ("King Stephen was a worthy peer," etc.) shows that he was still engaged on *Othello*, the last play in the eighth volume, some time after February 14, 1765, the date on which the *Reliques* were published:⁴ "These stanzas are taken from an old song, which the reader will find recovered and preserved in a curious work lately printed, intituled, *Relics of*

¹ Letter dated Nov. 24, 1757: Hans Hecht, *Thomas Percy und William Shenstone (Quellen und Forschungen, 103)* Strassburg, 1909, p. 4. Johnson had promised publication by Christmas, 1757: *Proposals*, 1756, p. 2.

² Hecht, p. 9.

³ Allen T. Hazen, "Johnson's Shakespeare: A Study in Cancellation," *Times Literary Supplement*, Dec. 24, 1938, p. 820.

⁴ L. F. Powell, "Percy's Reliques," *The Library*, 4th Ser., ix (1928), 123.

Ancient Poetry, consisting of old heroic Ballads, Songs, &c. 3 vols. 12mo.⁵

2. Heath's *A Revisal of Shakespear's Text* was published in February, 1765, and reviewed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February and March. The reviewer, commenting on Heath's dissatisfaction with the common reading of "gnat" for "quat" at *Othello*, v. i. 11 ("I've rubbed this young quat almost to the sense"), correctly defined "quat" as "a pimple, which is very likely to be made angry by rubbing."⁶ Johnson, in a note on this passage, similarly defines it.⁷ If he was indebted to the *Gentleman's Magazine* reviewer for his understanding of the term—none of the editors or critics before him had understood it—we may infer that he was working on the final act of *Othello* in or after March, 1765.⁸

3. Probably he had completed the plays by May 18, 1765, for on that date he wrote Garrick to secure his favour. "That this prejudice may really be honest," he said, "I wish you would name such plays as you would see, and they shall be sent you."⁹ There is no qualification to this offer: let Garrick name *any* play and it will be sent him.

4. Johnson's copy of Heath's *Revisal*, now at the Folger Shakespeare Library, carries on its fly-leaf in Johnson's hand the following words: "every man sees what escaped better eyes than his own In explaining this we try to restore when we should explain had authour published it, we should sit quietly down to find his meaning." In Johnson's Preface appears this sentence: "Had the authour published his own works, we should have sat quietly down to disentangle his intricacies, and clear his obscurities; but now we tear what we cannot loose, and eject what we happen not to understand."¹⁰ This sentence, in conjunction with scores of the notes and the tone of much of the Preface, elucidates the MS notation on the fly-leaf of the *Revisal*: "Such critics of Shakespeare as

⁵ Johnson, ed., *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, London, 1765, VIII. 373, n. 4.

⁶ *Gent. Mag.* XXXV (March, 1765), 111.

⁷ VIII. 449, n. 9.

⁸ Lounsbury has suggested, however, that Johnson was indebted to an earlier definition which appeared in the *British Magazine* (1748), p. 425 (Thomas R. Lounsbury, *The Text of Shakespeare*, N. Y., 1906, p. 518, n. 1).

⁹ G. B. Hill, ed., *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, Oxford, 1892, I. 116-117.

¹⁰ Johnson's *Shakespeare*, I. sig. [C7v].

Theobald and Gray perceive matters that eluded Pope and Warburton. This phenomenon is only to be explained by the fact that we editors have attempted to restore, that is, to emend the text instead of to explain it. Had Shakespeare published his own works, the doubt to which we all succumb—that obscurities in the text are the result of corruption—would be dissolved; and instead of changing the text to make it meaningful, we should find meaning in it as it stands." Quite clearly, I think, we have in the *Revisal* a rough draft of the sentence that appeared in the Preface, which proves that Johnson wrote the Preface after February, 1765.

5. After Johnson completed editing the plays for volume VIII, and after the compositors had set them up, he compiled the Appendix to his edition. That he completed compiling it after the presses had run off *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello* is evident from the fact that the notes on these plays in the Appendix refer by page number to the passages under consideration. And that Johnson compiled, not simply the last portion but all of the Appendix after completing the plays is evident from the fact that references to Heath occur in all portions.

6. Whether Johnson undertook the Appendix before the Preface or *vice versa* is not certain, but the Preface speaks not at all of Heath while the Appendix cites his opinions many times. We may infer, I think, that Johnson did not study the *Revisal* carefully until he had completed the Preface. Otherwise it is difficult to see why he should have omitted discussion of Heath in that portion of the Preface wherein he treats his predecessors.

On the basis of such evidence, we can tentatively chart Johnson's progress in 1765. At the beginning of the year he may still have been working on *Hamlet*. Sometime after the middle of February he was working on *Othello*, which he completed between March and the middle of May; sometime thereafter he wrote his Preface, and, after that, the Appendix. Then, at the end of July he decided to revise certain notes; he re-wrote these in August and September; and, on October 10, he published his Shakespeare. It is unlikely that he worked steadily on his edition from 1756 to 1765, but the evidence is slight. Although Boswell met Johnson in May, 1763, and did not leave London until August, he apparently learned nothing of Johnson's editorial undertaking or he surely would have informed us. He did learn, however, that Johnson "generally went abroad at four in the afternoon, and seldom came

home till two in the morning,"¹¹ hours which, it would seem, when added to those for sleeping and life's necessaries, left no great amount of working time.

The suggestion negatively provided by such information, or lack of it, that Johnson simply ceased working on Shakespeare for a period of some duration is supported by evidence from the edition itself. For fourteen of Shakespeare's plays Johnson listed the sources from which he had drawn variant readings. For *Midsummer Night's Dream*, for example, he has the following note:

The various Readings of this Play.

- I. A Quarto printed for *James Roberts*, 1600.
- II. The Folio of 1623.
- III. The Folio of 1632.
- IV. The Folio of 1664.¹²

In the first six volumes Johnson enumerated the sources of his variants with Roman numerals, as in the example just given. After the sixth volume, he listed them in Arabic numerals. Coincidental with this change in practice are two other changes, both similarly occurring between the sixth and seventh volumes. In the first six volumes of Johnson's edition, there are many unnumbered notes. There are, for example, thirty-five such notes for *Lear*, the first play in volume vi, and twenty for *Coriolanus*, the last; but for *Julius Caesar*, the first play in volume vii, there are no unnumbered notes, and for *Troilus*, the last play, only three. Again, through the first six volumes, Johnson reprinted notes from Theobald's first and second editions, retaining the archaic capitalization, spelling, and punctuation of the originals. After the sixth volume, however, he normalized all of Theobald's notes.

It is entirely possible that Johnson might gradually or abruptly have arrived at any or all of these changes of practice or policy in the uninterrupted course of his editing. But it is not likely that he would have arrived at all three changes simultaneously if there had not been an interruption of some length in his work. There may have been several lengthy interruptions; almost certainly there was at least one.

ARTHUR M. EASTMAN

University of Michigan

¹¹ G. B. Hill and L. F. Powell, eds., *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, Oxford, 1934, I. 398.

¹² Johnson's *Shakespeare*, I. 88.

DR. JOHNSON IN *PARTIBUS INFIDELIUM*?

In 1764 when the Rev. Hugh Blair was about to lease the apartment owned by David Hume at James's Court in Edinburgh, he wrote his good friend and future landlord: "I am very happy in the thoughts of being your Tenant. . . . I intend to design my Self, *Episcopus in partibus Infidelium*: and my Country Brethren must all necessarily drink the health of the Lord of the Manor when they visit me."¹ Basking in the adulation of Paris, Hume nostalgically wished, "twice or thrice a day, for my easy chair and my retreat in James's Court."² Upon his return from France in 1766, his tenant vacated the apartment; and he and his sister took possession again. Early the next year, however, Hume left Edinburgh once more to reside in London as Under-Secretary of State for the Northern Department. "I returned to Edinburgh in 1769," he comments in *My Own Life*, "very opulent (for I possessed a Revenue of 1000 pounds a Year) healthy, and though somewhat stricken in Years, with the Prospect of enjoying long my Ease and of seeing the Encrease of my Reputation."³ In October of that year he informed a friend: "I live still, and must for a twelve-month, in my old House in James's Court, which is very cheerful, and even elegant, but too small to display my great Talent for Cookery, the Science to which I intend to addict the remaining Years of my Life. . . ."⁴ A year later he wrote, "I am engag'd in the building a house"; and by 27 October 1771, Benjamin Franklin could write from Edinburgh: "Thro' Storms and Floods I arrived here . . . and was lodg'd miserably at an Inn: But that excellent Christian David Hume, agreeable to the Precepts of the Gospel, has received the Stranger, and I now live with him at his House in the new Town most happily."⁵ Yet it was not until 24 February 1772, that Hume seems to have begun dating letters

¹ Blair, MS letter, 6 April 1764, in Hume MSS, Royal Society of Edinburgh, III, 52.

² In *Letters of David Hume* (ed. J. Y. T. Greig, Oxford, 1932), I, 412.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 208.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 232; and Franklin, *Works* (ed. A. H. Smyth, New York, 1907), V, 344.

from St. Andrews Square.⁶ At James's Court his new tenant was James Boswell.

Boswell was certainly residing in Hume's *house* (as the apartment was called in the local parlance) by Whitsunday, 1772.⁷ On 14 August of the following year, Boswell received Dr. Johnson as his guest: "Mr. Johnson and I walked arm-in-arm up the High Street to my house in James's Court."⁸ Four days later the two set out on the tour of the Hebrides, returning 10 November for another ten days at James's Court before Johnson finally left for London. During neither visit with Boswell did Johnson see Scotland's greatest man of letters; but it was hardly to be expected that he would tolerate the presence of David Hume. How unlike another great English man of letters, Gibbon, who in that very summer of 1773 chided a friend visiting Edinburgh: "You tell me of a long list of dukes, lords, and chieftains of renown to whom you are introduced; were I with you, I should prefer one *David* to them all."⁹ It was at James's Court, indeed, that Johnson named Hume a blockhead and a rogue—a piece of invective that Boswell saw fit to suppress in the published *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL. D.* as "something much too rough."¹⁰

As the guest of Boswell, then, was Johnson unwittingly living in *partibus Infidelium?* The picture of the Great Moralist innocently drinking to "the Lord of the Manor" and thereby in reality toasting the Great Infidel has intrigued or disturbed the commentators; and the *pro's* and *con's* of the situation have been explored but without general agreement. The facts hitherto available have not been easy to interpret. There is, on the one hand, Hume's own assurance that his apartment was "the third story of James's

⁶ Unpublished letter of 24 February 1772, which will be included in the volume of Hume letters supplementary to Greig's edition on which Professors Raymond Klibansky of Oriel College, Oxford, and W. G. MacLagan of Glasgow University are collaborating with the present writer.

⁷ Boswell, *Private Papers from Malahide Castle* (ed. G. Scott and F. A. Pottle, privately printed, New York, 1928-34), under 15 and 17 May 1773. Though residing at St. Andrews Square, Hume apparently was not completely removed from James's Court before May 1773. See Hume, *Letters*, II, 261.

⁸ *Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (ed. F. A. Pottle and C. H. Bennett, New York, 1936), p. 11.

⁹ Gibbon, *Miscellaneous Works* (ed. Lord Sheffield, London, 1814), II, 110.

¹⁰ *Boswell's Journal or a Tour*, p. 17 and n. 10.

Court,"¹¹ that is, presumably the third story facing south and the sixth facing north since the apartment house was built on the side of the steep ridge of the Castle Hill. And, on the other hand, there is Johnson's assurance in a letter written from James's Court that, "Boswell has very handsome and spacious rooms; level with the ground on one side of the house, and on the other four stories high."¹²

The contradictions between these two descriptions may be explained away if one wants to, and there is sufficient reason for wanting to, in addition to the making possible a good anecdote, in the fact that Boswell records in his diaries on 28 October 1774, and again on 6 March 1775, that he paid Hume six months' rent for the apartment in James's Court.¹³ In other words, at least as late as March 1775, Boswell was still Hume's tenant. The two descriptions of the location of the apartment may perhaps be reconciled by assuming, first, that Hume meant the third story facing north (which would be the ground floor facing south) and, second, that his "third story" really meant the fourth floor according to the modern American and somewhat more logical usage.¹⁴ These assumptions are not completely convincing, however, and smack somewhat of special-pleading. Yet they do have the merit of recognizing that at the time of Dr. Johnson's visit Boswell was the tenant of Hume.

Certain other facts must be taken into consideration. Among the Hume manuscripts at the Royal Society of Edinburgh is a document in Hume's hand entitled "Memorial for Mr. Hume,"¹⁵ which refers to a lawsuit brought against Hume for failure to pay a bill for repairs to the James's Court apartment. The memorial opens: "At Whitsunday last, Mr. Boswell, Advocate, left Mr. Hume's house in James's Court; and Lady Wallace, Dowager, came to it." This manuscript has not passed unnoticed, but is of little value to the point at issue because the year is nowhere mentioned. The lawsuit

¹¹ Hume, *Letters*, I, 367, and n. 2. For a full discussion, see Birkbeck Hill's edition of *Letters of David Hume to William Strahan* (Oxford, 1888), pp. 116-19.

¹² Johnson, *Letters* (ed. G. Birkbeck Hill, New York, 1892), I, 229.

¹³ Boswell, *Private Papers*, x, 42, 109.

¹⁴ John Murray, "James Boswell in Edinburgh" (unpublished dissertation at Yale University, 1939), I, 236-43, Appendix III, on "Boswell's Flat in James's Court." See especially, pp. 242-43.

¹⁵ MS IX, 19.

referred to, however, was tried before the Baillie Court, and the legal documents concerned are to be found in the Edinburgh City Chambers among "Unextracted Bailie Court Processes."¹⁶

Chief of these documents is a letter of mandate from Hume to a certain John Watson, evidently a *writer* or solicitor,¹⁷ directing Watson to appear for him before the Baillies. Dated, "St Andrews Square, 19 of Feby 1774," the letter opens:

I desire you to appear for me before the Baillies in consequence of the enclos'd Summons. The Story is this: I have a House in James's Court, which I let in lease to Mr. Boswal, Advocate: He left it last Whitsunday before the Expiration of his Lease, and let it to Lady Wallace. As there was some Plaister broke down in the Kitchin, Mrs Boswal, that she might leave things in good Repair, sent for this Gillies, who summons me, in order to throw a little Plaister on the walls.

The letter proceeds with a tale of minor eighteenth-century labor racketeering: Adam Gilles or Gillies, mason, having been engaged to do one job, proceeded on his own initiative to make other and unneeded repairs; Hume, refusing to pay the inflated bill, was summoned before the court. The story is amusing but hardly pertinent. Suffice it to say, the Baillies, who were generally on the side of tradespeople, ruled against Hume; and all his protests proved fruitless.

Boswell's situation at James's Court may now be reconstructed and the question contained in the title to this note answered. The true explanation requires no finespun argument. On Whitsunday, 1773, Boswell removed from Hume's apartment to the larger ground-floor apartment on the same stair. And, as he was leaving after but one year's residence and before the expiration of his lease (evidently for three years) he sub-let Hume's apartment to Lady Wallace. So, although Boswell was Hume's tenant in the summer and autumn of 1773, Dr. Johnson—happily or unhappily—was not *in partibus Infidelium*. It would surely be stretching those infidel regions too far to include all of James's Court!

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¹⁶ City Chambers, Edinburgh, Bundle No. 396 (50). Quotations are made by permission; the unpublished Hume letter will be included in the forthcoming volume mentioned above.

¹⁷ Beyond the fact that Watson was neither a Solicitor before the Supreme Court nor a Writer to the Signet, nothing is known about him. He was apparently restricted to practice before the minor courts.

DER TOD ALS EWIGER AUGENBLICK

Ein wiederkehrendes Symbol bei Annette von Droste-Hülshoff und Hugo von Hofmannsthal

Die Verewigung eines Augenblicks ist ein dichterisches Grundthema, eine exemplarische Situation, aus der heraus ein Gedicht entstehen kann. Im 19. Jahrhundert ergibt sich dieser Augenblick für den Dichter oft dann, wenn er, in der freien Landschaft, in eine plötzliche, meist wohl nicht mehr gewohnte, Vertrautheit mit der Natur gerät. Da wird ihm mit einem Male die Welt und damit sein eignes Wesen verständlich. D. G. Rossettis Sonettenfolge *The House of Life* hat dieser in der Natur empfangenen Verewigung des Augenblicks die vielleicht deutlichste Form gegeben. Für Hofmannsthal ist diese plötzliche Welt- und Selbsterkenntnis das Werk des Todes. Er, "aus des Dionysos, der Venus Sippe"¹ offenbart sich in dieser Selbst-Bewusstwerdung des Dichters immer dann

Wenn Überschwellen der Gefühle
Mit warmer Flut die Seele zitternd füllte,
Wenn sich im plötzlichen Durchzucken
Das Ungeheure als verwandt enthüllte.²

Die Hingabe an dieses Ungeheure, das auf kurze Zeit verständlich wird, ist ein Akt des Sterbens. Für Hofmannsthal ist dies eine Erlebnis-Grundform. Und so wie Goethe gewissen Grundformen, Märchen, Novelle, einfach den generischen Titel gab, um damit das Beispielhafte und Phaenomenologische des Geschehens und der Form auszudrücken, so hat Hofmannsthal sein Gedicht, in dem er die durch den Tod ermöglichte Verewigung des Augenblicks festhielt, einfach *Erlebnis*³ genannt:

Mit silbergrauem Dufte war das Tal
Der Dämmerung erfüllt, wie wenn der Mond
Durch Wolken sickert. Doch es war nicht Nacht.

¹ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Gedichte und lyrische Dramen* (Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer, 1946), p. 280.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Der ewige Augenblick hat seine besondere Stunde, die der Dämmerung, unmittelbar vor dem Zunachten. Das ist die christliche Todeskontemplation, aus der das klare körperhafte Licht der Griechen verschwunden ist. Denn für die Griechen war es die Stunde des Pan, wenn die heiße regungslose Sommerluft, kurz nach Mittag, das elementare Leben aus dem Waldschatten hervorgetreten liess. Dämmerung und Tod sind an deren Stelle getreten, wodurch sich das Erlebnis als christlich-modern ausweist. Dieses Abendliche des christlichen Empfindens, in dem der ewige Augenblick aus dem mittäglichen Licht in die Dämmerung rückt und man statt Pan dem Tode begegnet, ist schon bei Augustin ausgesprochen, wenn er sagt:

Scientia creaturae in comparatione scientiae Creatoris quodammodo vesperascit.⁴

Es ist dieser Uebergang von Licht und Körperlichkeit zu Dämmerung und Auflösung, womit Hermann Broch, als wichtiges Thema in seinem Vergilroman, die Zeitenwende verdeutlicht hat.⁵

Mit silbergrauem Duft des dunklen Tales
Verschwammen meine dämmernden Gedanken,
Und still versank ich in dem webenden,
Durchsichtigen Meere und verliess das Leben.

Dem Dichter entgleitet langsam das Bewusstsein, seine Gedanken werden undeutlich, assoziativ, wesentlich, bildhaft, und er versinkt im Meere des Beziehungsreichen, stirbt. Stirbt aber nicht bewusstlos, sondern überbewusst; er erlebt seinen eignen Tod, so wie, im vierten Teil seines Buchs *Der Tod des Vergil* Hermann Broch den Dichter seinen Tod erleben lässt. Einige Zeilen weiter unten heisst es im Gedicht:

Und dieses wusst ich,
Obgleich ichs nicht begreife, doch ich wusst es:
Das ist der Tod.

Im Tode weiss er, dass er tot ist. So muss die christliche Seele nach der Auflösung des Leibes empfinden. Aber das Gedicht, obwohl erst in der christlichen Ueberlieferung möglich, will nicht ein christliches, sondern ein dichterisches Erlebnis beschreiben:

⁴ Augustinus, *De Civitate Dei*, libr. XI, cap. 7.

⁵ Hermann Broch, *Der Tod des Vergil* (New York: Pantheon, 1945).

Aber seltsam!

Ein namenloses Heimweh weinte lautlos
In meiner Seele nach dem Leben, weinte,
Wie einer weint, wenn er auf grossem Seeschiff
Mit gelben Riesensegeln gegen Abend
Auf dunkelblauem Wasser an der Stadt,
Der Vaterstadt, vorüberfährt.

Wieder ist es wie ein Echo aus *Der Tor und der Tod*: in der Sterbestunde stellt sich das Heimweh nach dem Leben und die Erkenntnis dieses Lebens ein. Auch dem Brochschen Vergil scheint sein Tod wie die Meerfahrt auf einem grossen Schiff, das langsam verschwindet, so wie auch der Prinz von Homburg in seiner vermeintlichen Sterbestunde es sich vorstellt:

Und wie ein Schiff, vom Hauch des Winds entführt,
Die muntre Hafenstadt versinken sieht,
So geht mir dämmernd alles Leben unter.

Leben aber, als Einssein mit der Welt, noch ohne "des Gedankens Blässe," erscheint bei Hofmannsthal als die Kindheit:

Da sieht er
Die Gassen, hört die Brunnen rauschen, riecht
Den Duft der Fliederbüsche, sieht sich selber,
Ein Kind, am Ufer stehn, mit Kindesaugen,
Die ängstlich sind und weinen wollen

Er sieht sich selbst, mit seinem leiblichen, gestorbenen Auge, so wie er einmal war. Die leibliche Begegnung mit der eignen Person ist im Volksmythos und in der romantischen Dichtung fast immer mit dem Tode verknüpft, unter anderm als das Doppelgängermotiv. (Auch die Symbolik des Spiegels spielt hier herein.) Hier freilich ist die Abfolge umgekehrt: nicht weil er sich selber sieht, muss er sterben, sondern er sieht sich, weil er gestorben ist. Die Ablösung der lebendigen Seele vom in der Dämmerung liegenden Leib findet ein geheimnisvolles Symbol:

sieht
Durchs offne Fenster Licht in seinem Zimmer

Das Ich, das andre und wahre Ich, das dem Leben angehört, offenbart sich durch das Licht im eignen Zimmer. Das Licht zeigt, dass das Zimmer bewohnt ist; er hat es selber angezündet und könnte, stände er vorm Fenster, sich selber handeln und leben

sehen. Die eigne Lampe dort drinnen ist das deutlichste Symbol dafür, dass er wirklich gestorben ist.

Das grosse Seeschiff aber trägt ihn weiter
Auf dunkelblauem Wasser lautlos gleitend
Mit gelben fremdgeformten Riesensegeln.

Damit schliesst das Gedicht. Er fährt am Leben, das seine Kindheit war, vorüber.

Mit dieser Erklärung des Hofmannsthalschen Gedichts ist gleichzeitig und beinahe Zeile für Zeile auch eines der Droste miterklärt, *Im Moose*:⁶

Als jüngst die Nacht dem sonnenmüden Land
Der Dämmrung leise Boten hat gesandt,
Da lag ich einsam noch in Waldes Moose.
Die dunklen Zweige nickten so vertraut,
An meiner Wange flüsterte das Kraut,
Unsichtbar duftete die Heiderose.

Wieder ist es die Erfahrung des Alleinseins in der Natur, in der Dämmerstunde, unmittelbar vorm Nachtdunkel, wobei der verstärkte Dämmerduft der Natur die Sinne einwiegte, kurz vor dem Erlebnis.

Und flimmern sah ich durch der Linde Raum
Ein mattes Licht, das im Gezweig der Baum
Gleich einem mächt'gen Glühwurm schien zu tragen,
Es sah so dämmernd wie ein Traumgesicht,
Doch wusste ich, es war der Heimat Licht,
In meiner eignen Kammer angeschlagen.

Das Licht im eignen Zimmer, halb noch wirklich, halb wie im Traum gesehen, ist auch hier das Zeichen des abgelösten Ich, des entschwundenen Lebens. Denn "Heimat" hat hier deutlich einen vollen Doppelsinn: das nahe eigne Haus würde die Dichterin nicht "Heimat" nennen, wenn es ihr nicht auch zum Sinnbild allen verflossnen Jugendlebens geworden wäre. Auch hier kommt das Licht aus dem eignen Kammerfenster der Jugendzeit.

Ringum so still, dass ich vernahm im Laub
Der Raupe Nagen, und wie grüner Staub
Mich leise wirbelnd Blätterflöckchen trafen.
Ich lag und dachte, ach, so Manchem nach,
Ich hörte meines eignen Herzens Schlag,
Fast war es mir, als sei ich schon entschlafen.

⁶ Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, *Sämtliche Werke* (München: Georg Müller, 1925) I, 74.

Da tritt das Erlebnis ein: sie stirbt. Mit demselben elegisch-atmendem Ton, als Akzent am Ende der Zeile, wie das Hofmannsthalsche "und verliess das Leben" wird hier das Sterben ausgedrückt.

Gedanken tauchten aus Gedanken auf,
Das Kinderspiel, der frischen Jahre Lauf,
Gesichter, die mir lange fremd geworden;
Vergessne Töne summt' um mein Ohr.

Annette verfügt noch nicht über die reiche Traum- und Seelensprache des österreichischen Dichters, aber der Vorgang "Gedanken tauchen aus Gedanken auf" ist derselbe wie der des Verschwimmens und Webens dämmernder Gedanken, die ins Wesentliche, in den verlorenen Besitz des Lebens, die Kinderzeit, herabsteigen.

Und endlich trat die Gegenwart hervor,
Da stand die Welle, wie an Ufers Randen.

Nach jenem einst genossnen Leben hört die ursprüngliche Bewegung auf: die Welle steht, das Leben selber ist zu Ende. Dies ist der Punkt des Erlebnisses, an dem Hofmannsthals Gedicht abbricht. In den folgenden vier Strophen fügt auch Annette dem Erlebnis keinen neuen Inhalt hinzu, sie führt es nur mit einer grausamen Genauigkeit zu Ende:

Dann, gleich dem Bronnen, der verrinnt im Schlund
Und drüben wieder sprudelt aus dem Grund,
So stand ich plötzlich in der Zukunft Lande;
Ich sah mich selber, gar gebückt und klein,
Geschwächten Auges, am ererbten Schrein
Sorgfältig ordnen staub'ge Liebespfande.
Die Bilder meiner Lieben sah ich klar,
In einer Tracht, die jetzt veraltet war,
Mich sorgsam lösen aus verblichnen Hüllen . . .

Wenn die verronnene Welle wieder zum Vorschein kommt, sieht sich die Dichterin selbst, so wie Hofmannsthal sich auch selbst gesehen hatte in der Stunde seines Todes. Nur zeichnet sich Annette hier mit einem erbarmungslosen *desengaño* als karge alte Jungfer, die sie bald sein wird, nur noch von vergangnem Leben zehrend. Die Lebensreise wird hier nicht als Seefahrt auf grossem Schiffe gesehen, aber auch hier ist es das Wasser, der hingleitende Fluss, mit dem sich der Lebensablauf und die Todesfahrt bezeichnet.

Und—horch, die Wachtel schlug! Kühl strich der Hauch—
 Und noch zuletzt sah ich, gleich einem Rauch,
 Mich leise in der Erde Poren ziehen.
 Ich fuhr empor und schüttelte mich dann,
 Wie einer, der dem Scheintod erst entrann,
 Und taumelte entlang die dunklen Hage,
 Noch immer zweifelnd, ob der Stern am Rain
 Sei wirklich meiner Schlummerlampe Schein
 Oder das ew'ge Licht am Sarkophage.

Der wirkliche Wachtelschlag, noch im Traume gehört, weckt sie auf, so wie Rustan in Grillparzers *Der Traum ein Leben* durch den wirklichen Schlag der Uhr, der beiden Sphären angehört, von einem Leben ins andre gerufen wird. Was oben nur sinnbildlich angedeutet wurde, dass das Licht im eignen Kammerfenster auch zugleich das Licht des Todes ist, des nicht mehr gelebten Lebens, wird nun, am Schluss, ausgesprochen.

Es gibt wohl wenige Fälle, in denen zwei Gedichte dasselbe Erlebnis mit so ähnlichen Mitteln und Symbolen behandeln. Es ist sehr wohl möglich, dass Annettes Gedichte zu Hofmannsthals äusserer oder geistiger Bibliothek gehört haben, und dass seine Verse ein, sicherlich unbewusstes, deutliches Echo der früheren sind. Das hiesse noch keineswegs, dass der Titel *Erlebnis* unzutreffend und das Gedicht selber nur Folge eines Bildungserlebnisses zweiter Hand wäre. Denn grade dann, wenn ein Dichter ein ihm ganz gehörendes Grunderlebnis woanders vorgebildet findet, wird er aufhorchen, angestossen werden, das Gedicht selber vielleicht vergessen und später im eignen Gedicht sein eignes Erlebnis mit den Mitteln jenes Halbvergessnen beschreiben.

Vielleicht aber gehört dieses Erlebnis gar nicht nur diesen beiden an, vielleicht ist es ein dichterisches Grunderlebnis überhaupt. Auch steht ja Annette, wie Hofmannsthal, besonders deutlich in der katholischen Ueberlieferung. Vielleicht ist sogar das Licht im eignen Kammerfenster ein archetypisches, gewissermaassen "natürliches" Symbol, das jeder, der Symbole lesen kann, wieder findet. Eines jedenfalls ist klar: das Hofmannsthalsche Grunderlebnis, wie es sich in *Der Tor und der Tod* und in diesem Gedichte ausdrückt, ist nicht, wie so lange geglaubt wurde, das eines todes-süchtigen, lebensunfähigen Aestheten, Zeichen für ein zu Ende gehendes Jahrhundert reicher Erben, denn Annette, die von keiner dieser Bezeichnungen getroffen werden kann, hat dasselbe erlebt.

A SOURCE OF HOFFMANN'S *DER KAMPF DER SÄNGER*

Hoffmann's story of the Wartburg minstrels *Der Kampf der Sänger* was written in the autumn of 1817 and appeared late in 1818 in Brockhaus's *Urania, Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1819*; at the same time it was included in the second volume of the *Sera- pionsbrüder*. There it was assigned to Cyprian, who himself acknowledges his indebtedness to Wagenseil's famous *Chronik von Nürnberg* for material.

In his edition of Hoffmann's works, Volume vi., Carl Georg von Maassen examines the extensive literature on the Wartburg story but with very meagre results as far as Hoffmann's tale is concerned. He lists many books and articles which either certainly or in all probability Hoffmann never saw, and as a result narrows Hoffmann's sources almost exclusively to the one work that Hoffmann (Cyprian) mentions. For some minor details, such as a few names that are not found in Wagenseil, Maassen plausibly conjectures that Hoffmann consulted a work on Thuringian or specifically Wartburg history. He assumes that Hoffmann probably knew that the legend of the minstrels' contest goes back to the mediæval poem or is at least closely connected with it. A large part of Hoffmann's story is, of course, entirely his own invention.

Maassen, however, has failed to find the probable first source of Hoffmann's interest in the Wartburg contest, one that probably supplied him with a hint for the major element of his plot. In the issues of *Der Freimüthige*, edited at that time by Kotzebue and G. Merkel, for April 27, 28, 1804 (nos. 84, 85, pp. 333-35, 338-339), C. Schreiber published an article entitled "Über die Minnesänger und ihren Krieg auf der Wartburg." That Hoffmann saw and read this article would seem practically certain. In September of the previous year (September 9, 1803) this periodical published his *Sendschreiben eines Klostergeistlichen*, Hoffmann's first work to see the light in printed form. In the same month he had sent his drama *Der Preis* to *Der Freimüthige* in competition for a prize that Kotzebue was offering for a comedy, and he had been eagerly scanning the pages of the periodical for the announcement of the award, which appeared in the issue of February 11, 1804.

In addition to Wagenseil, Maassen thinks that Hoffmann probably made use of a recent work on the Wartburg, J. C. S. Thon's *Schloss Wartburg. Ein Beitrag zur Kunde der Vorzeit*,¹ finding there all he needed to supplement his major source. It is significant that Schreiber in *Der Freimüthige* article refers the reader to this one book for further information, which fortifies the supposition that Hoffmann used Thon's book.

Hoffmann nowhere mentions the Landgräfin Sophia, Hermann's wife, and Maassen quite correctly conjectures that he has for the purposes of his plot transformed her into the Gräfin Mathilde von Falkenstein, taking the name Mathilde from Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. Maassen quotes from Friedrich Rassmann's *Literarisches Handwörterbuch der verstorbenen deutschen Dichter* (Leipzig, 1826) which in reference to the Wartburg contest records: "Der Eintritt der schönen Landgräfin Sophia brachte Ofterdingen aus der Fassung und entriss ihm den fast schon entschiedenen Sieg," but he has been unable to find any source for this suggestion of a relation between Ofterdingen and the Landgräfin, though it seems significant for Hoffmann's tale. But the episode was already related in Schreiber's narrative,—and with a much more direct suggestion of the element upon which Hoffmann built his Ofterdingen-Mathilde story: "Da trat die schöne Sophie, die Landgräfin von Thüringen, in den Versammlungssaal, und der entflammte Dichter blickte zu lang in ihr grosses feuriges Auge. . . . Er wurde bestürzt und verworren, seine Gegner benutzten den Augenblick, und Ofterdingen ward zum erstenmale besiegt. Die erzürnten Meister waren konsequent genug, das Urtheil an ihm zu vollziehen und ihn den Händen des Henkers zu übergeben—aber er floh in den Schutz der ihn liebenden Fürstin, barg sich unter ihrem Mantel, und sie, die wider ihren Willen schuld an seinem Unfall war, ward nun auch seine gütige Retterin." It seems obvious that Hoffmann derived the main motif in his story from this passage in Schreiber's article.

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¹ Maassen refers to the "vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage," Eisenach, 1815; first edition, Gotha, 1795.

EIN UNBEKANNTER HOCHDEUTSCHER *REINICKE FUCHS* VON 1577

Einem Brief von Taylor Starck entnehme ich dankbar den folgenden Hinweis: 'Incidental to the discovery in private hand in Cambridge of the fourth printing of the High German version of the Low German *Reinke de vos* (Lübeck 1498) which appeared in Frankfurt in 1562, I have learned that Collitz had a printing not listed in the bibliographies! The Collitz copy was printed in Frankfurt 1577 and therefore comes between N°s 9 and 10 of the list given by Friedrich Prien in his edition of *Reinke de vos* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1887), p. xlivi.'

In dieser Angabe ist alles Wesentliche enthalten, sie läßt sich noch ergänzen durch eine Bleistift-Notiz, von Collitz selbst auf die Rückseite des Vorsatzblatts geschrieben: 'Diese Ausgabe wird weder von Grimm, *Reinhart Fuchs* S. CLXXVIII noch von Goedeke II, 322 erwähnt. Sie fällt zwischen die dort verzeichneten Auflagen von 1574 und 1579.' Da der Druck von 1574 mit dem neunten in Priens Liste identisch ist, kommt also dem Exemplar der *Collitz Collection* nunmehr die Nummer 9a zu. Doch gibt der Druck Anlaß zu einigen Bemerkungen.

Nicolaus Basse tritt als Drucker eines *Reinicke Fuchs* schon 1569 auf; dort ist aber Simon Hütter der Verleger (vgl. Prien u. a. O.). Die nächsten beiden Frankfurter Drucke stammen nicht von ihm, der also erst 1579 wieder in Erscheinung tritt. Das Impressum auf dem Schlußblatt nennt nur den Drucker, *Nicolaum Bassaeum*, der also wohl zugleich Verleger ist und es auch in allen folgenden Drucken des 16. Jahrhunderts bleibt.

Nun ist aber dieser Druck von 1579 nach Wortlaut, Rechtschreibung, Zeilenbruch und Zeichensetzung der Titelseite, sowie nach Blattzahl völlig identisch mit dem Exemplar Collitz, bis auf den Druckvermerk, der nämlich als Drucker einen *Franciscum Bassaeum* angibt 'in verlegung Nicolai/ Bassaei, Gebr./ Darunter: Druckersignet / M. D. LXXVII. Der bei Prien der Ausgabe von 1579 zugeschriebene neue Holzschnitt zu III, 11 kommt schon unserm Exemplar zu, das überhaupt in jedem Betracht als Original-Ausgabe anzusehen ist, der 1579 nur ein neuer Druckvermerk angehängt ist.

Was der Anlaß dazu war, daß die gemeinsame Firma der Brüder Basse in den Alleinbesitz von Nicolaus überging, weiß ich nicht. Aber daß im Jahre 1577 für kurze Zeit neben Nicolaus sein Bruder Franz in der Offizin tätig war, beweist ein in meinem Besitz befindlicher *Albertus Magnus* des gleichen Jahres 1577, dessen Impressum so lautet: *Gedruckt zu Franckfurt / am Mayn, durch Franciscum / Bassaeum, in verlegung Ni-/colai Bassaei, Gebrü. / Im Jar.* Darunter: *Druckersignet / M. D. LXXVII.* Franz muß 1579 ausgeschieden sein, die Firma legt die Bezeichnung 'Gebrüder' ab, der Rest der Ausgabe erhält ein neues Schlußblatt, auf dem Nicolaus als Alleininhaber erscheint.

Somit ist der neue, als 9a rangierende Druck der einzige, an dem Franz Basse Anteil hat.

Der Vollständigkeit halber sei noch erwähnt, dass die Johns Hopkins Universitätsbibliothek ausser dem Unikum der *Collitz Collection* den schönen Foliodruck von 1545 besitzt, der bei Prien a. a. O. XL f. als *zweiter* hochdeutscher beschrieben ist. Prien kennt davon 14 Exemplare.

ARNO SCHIROKAUER

BLACKWELL'S [MEDIEVAL] GERMAN TEXTS

Es verdient jede Art von Zuspruch und Ermutigung, wenn heute ein englischer Verleger die Unternehmungslust für eine Reihe von mittelhochdeutschen Textausgaben aufbringt, für die doch auf einen breiten Markt kaum zu rechnen ist. Die sprachlichen Barrikaden sind hoch genug, das genüßsuchende Publikum abzuhalten, das längst an modernisierende Überarbeitungen gewöhnt ist; und selbst Studenten der Germanistik wenden sich der neueren Literatur zu, bei der die linguistischen Schwierigkeiten geringer sind. So erblicke ich meine vornehmste Aufgabe darin, dem Wagnis der schnell wachsenden Serie, die der Oxford Verleger Blackwell unter dem Titel *Blackwell's German Texts* seit 1947 veröffentlicht, Erfolg zu wünschen und dem Unternehmen Förderliches zu sagen. Da ist zunächst einmal die Auswahl, die besser nicht zu treffen wäre. Mit Hartmann, Walther, Gottfried sind die drei Sterne erster Grösse des klassischen Siebengestirns präsentiert; die späthöfische Zeit ist durch *Meier Helmbrecht*, der Meistergesang im Zeitalter der Glau-bensspaltung durch Hans Sachs musterhaft vertreten. Abgesehen

von *Nibelungenlied* und *Parzival*, den Lyrikern Reinmar und Morungen, sollten Neidhart, Stricker und Freidank für die Rundung des Bildes herangezogen werden; für das 14. Jahrhundert wäre ein Abdruck des *Ackermann aus Böhmen*, für das 15. einer des *Narrenschiff* am Platze. Womit das Gediegene aus dem Vorrat älterer deutscher Dichtung in die Scheuern eingebracht wäre.

Lobenswert ist weiterhin Anordnung und buchtechnische Ausstattung der Serie. Während die deutschen Textausgaben oft buchdruckerische Greuel darstellten, sind Blackwells Bücher handlich, typologisch klar und sauber. Die Texte selbst sind umrahmt von Bibliographien, Einleitungen, Kommentaren und Vokabular, so daß der kritische Leser zum Wortlaut der Dichtung den Apparat erhält, auf dem Textherstellung und Textdeutung beruht. Es ist nun gerade der etwas anspruchsvolle Reichtum an diesen Zutaten, der es nötig macht, an die Serie den kritischsten Maßstab zu legen.

Da drängt sich dem Betrachter als recht seltsam ein gewisser Konservativismus der Editionstechnik auf, eine Unempfindlichkeit für die neueren Grundsätze der Textherstellung, ein Unwille, den Richtungen zu folgen, die von der Forschung in den letzten Jahrzehnten eingeschlagen sind. Ich weiss nicht, wie die Herausgeber ein so retardierendes Verfahren rechtfertigen wie, daß im Falle der Auswahl aus Walther immer noch die 9. Ausgabe Lachmanns zugrunde gelegt ist statt der seit 1936 allein gültigen 10.; daß Closs im *Tristan* noch immer Bechstein folgt, dessen Text nun schon dreimal—durch Golther, dann durch Marold, endlich durch Ranke—ausser Kurs gesetzt ist. Natürlich tut die auch im Apparat bemerkbare Tendenz zur Gestrigkeit der Verwendbarkeit der Ausgaben im Seminarbetrieb ernsten Abbruch. Daß die meisten der Bände in zweiter Auflage vorliegen, entschuldigt hier nichts, da sie schon beim ersten Erscheinen (1942) nicht *up to date* gewesen sind; und ich erwähne es hier nur, weil es mich der Mühe intensiverer Betrachtung enthebt, welche die Bände schon damals gefunden haben. So bleibt mir nicht viel mehr als nur nachzutragen.

In der Neuausgabe von Bostocks *Armen Heinrich* (Oxford, 1947), pp. xl, 97, ist alles überarbeitet ausser dem Text, der weiterhin Gierach folgt. Es steht aber seit Leitzmanns Aufsatz *ZsfdPh.* 53 (1928), 109 ff. fest, daß die Diskriminierung der Hs. B in dem früher üblichen Umfang unberechtigt ist, zu welcher Erkenntnis sich ja auch Gierach immer mehr durchgerungen hatte.

Rankes Text, zu dem, wie es sich gehört, Gierach und Leitzmann Pate gestanden haben, ist sicherlich dem Bostocks überlegen.¹ Im Einzelnen ein paar Bemerkungen:

- v. 19: *ar(e)beit* ist nicht immer so viel wie *trouble*. Vgl. G. Schwarz, *arebeit bei mhd. Dichtern* (Würzburg, 1938), mit einem Anhang: *Dichtung als arebeit*.—Ferner B. Boesch, *Die Kunstanschauung in der mhd. Dichtung* (Bern, 1936), 22 f. Anm. 59 mit weiterer Literatur.
- v. 48: kann man mit A oder B lesen, nur so wie der Vers jetzt aus beiden Hss. zusammengestoppelt ist, steht der Artikel sinnwidrig; ich zöge vor: *ez hiez der herre Heinrich*.
- v. 252: bedarf keiner Anmerkung; *sine armē friunt* ist doch acc. plur.
- v. 325: Die in der Anmerkung versuchte Erklärung wird durch v. 463 hinfällig.
- v. 327: Die Anmerkung ist überflüssig: *bīwonen* kann den Genitiv nehmen.
- v. 562: Hier, an der entscheidenden Stelle des Gedichts ist *muot* grade nicht 'purpose,' sondern 'Kraft des Denkens und des Wollens,' vgl. Lexer I, 2241 f.
- v. 852: Druckfehler; lies *ez* statt *ex*.
- v. 1170: scheint mir eher zu bedeuten: Denn ich bin aus geringem Stoff (Staub) gemacht.
- v. 1379: *enbieten* bedeutet 'Botschaft senden,' nicht 'entbieten.'
- v. 1412: Die im Vokabular gegebene Entwicklungsreihe von ahd. *seltsāni* > mhd. *seltsāne* > *seltsen* > nhd. *seltsam* ist in dieser Form unrichtig. *Seltsam* ist in der alten Sprache *seltsliche*; die spezifische Bedeutung von *seltsāni* (*unsāni* = *deformis*) = *kaum gesund* muß erst verblassen, bevor Kontamination mit dem Suffix *-sam* möglich wird. In unserm Gedicht ist die Grundbedeutung 'beinahe irre, kaum gesund' an beiden Textstellen noch unverkennbar. Demnach ist zu übersetzen: *almost insane*.

Die Auswahl aus Walther von der Vogelweide, für die Margaret F. Richey zeichnet (Oxford, 1948), pp. xxvi, 102, kann es mit der fast gleichzeitigen des Schweizers Max Wehrli aufnehmen. Nur daß letzterer natürlich auf der von CvKraus betreuten 10. Lachmann-Ausgabe fußt und Lesarten in generöser Fülle bietet. In M. Richeys gediegener Einführung stören außer ein paar Druckfehlern Restbestände einer etwas blumig-biedermeierlichen Betrachtung des Dichterlebens; in ihrer Bibliographie ist *Minnesangs Frühling* doch tatsächlich in Vogts Ausgabe von 1920 verzeichnet, obwohl die nunmehr allein gültige Neufassung von Kraus zur Zeit der Zusammenstellung des hier besprochenen Bandes schon acht Jahre alt

¹ Die Ausgabe, Basel 1943 erschienen, fehlt in B.s Bibliographie, die sonst Titel aus den Jahren 1944 und 1946 enthält.

war! Für die Bevorzugung der *Kleinen Heidelberger Liederhandschrift* (A) gibt es gesunde Gründe; im Einzelnen folgt ihr natürlich auch Frl. Richey, bevorzugt aber zuweilen recht eigenwillige Lesungen, für die man die Gründe gerne wüsste.

3.7 (= Lachmann 56. 20) ist entschieden verschlimmisiert.

4 (= Lachmann 48. 38) illustriert den Gegensatz von *wip* und *vrouwe*, ohne daß sich im Vokabular die erwarteten Bedeutungshilfen finden.

43.1 (= Lachmann 28. 31) ist gelesen nach Hs. C (*die* statt *diu*), aber dann wäre auch Z. 6 mit C *minen*, Z. 8 *arn* nötig, wozu sich R. nicht versteht. Zum in *butzen* *wis* der gleichen Nummer gibt das Vokabular unvollständige Auskunft: Das Wort findet sich auch im *jTitrel*. Zur Bedeutung vgl. jetzt *Trübner's Deutsches Wtb.* I, 482: = in plumper, grober Weise. Auf S. 102 muß Nr. 9 = Lachmann 65. 23 korrigiert werden in: 65. 33.

An ähnlichen Kleinigkeiten ist kein Mangel. Lieber drücke ich meine Zustimmung dazu aus, daß 40 Seiten Text von 23 Seiten subtilster Anmerkungen gefolgt werden, die eine Menge rhythmisch-metrischer, biographischer und philologischer Details verarbeiten, darunter nichts, was der Berichtigung bedarf.

Wenig befreunden kann ich mich mit der Behandlung, die Closs Gottfrieds *Tristan* (Oxford, 1947), pp. Ix, 205, hat angedeihen lassen. Die Einleitung und manche Anmerkung sähen sicherlich anders aus, hätte Closs so wichtige Arbeiten berücksichtigt wie De Boors, 'Grundauffassung von Gottfrieds *Tristan*' *Dt. Vierteljahrsschr.* xviii (1940), 262-306 oder Schwieringers Berliner Akademieabhandlung *Der Tristan Gottfrieds und die Bernhardische Mystik* (Berlin, 1943). Und wer Stoltes motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen von 1940/41 kennt, hätte doch wohl die Gandin—Episode nicht völlig fortgelassen. Die gemütvollen Wendungen, in denen sich Closs gern ergeht, sind Geschmacksache, zurückzuweisen ist aber, daß Eilhart die Tristansage 'introduced to the German public' (S. xxxi), was gleich zweimal falsch ist: daß wir von Eilharts Werk nicht eine komplette Hs. haben, beweist wohl die Fragwürdigkeit des Wortes 'public' (auch wenn die *Tristan*-Fortsetzer auf Eilhart zurückgehen); und dann ist *MSF* 58. 35 Beweis genug dafür, daß die Tristansage schon zu Veldekes Zeiten dem 'Publikum' bekannt war. Der Satz 'Like Heinrich von Veldeke, he was a Low German, but he wrote in the dialect of the West Rhineland' enthält gleichfalls gleich zwei Ungenauigkeiten: Die Mundart des Braunschweigers Eilhart ist nieder-sächsisch, die Veldekes nieder-fränkisch; ferner bedient sich der Braunschweiger keines westrheinischen Schriftdialekt, sondern des mittelfränk-

ischen (den ich so wenig ost- wie westrheinisch nennen würde).²— Auch in einer auswählenden Bibliographie dürfen nicht Titel fehlen wie z. B. die folgenden:

Röttiger, W. *Der heutige Stand der Tristanforschung*. 1897.
 vKraus, C. Wort und Vers in Gottfries Tristan. *ZsfdA*. 51 (1909), 301-378.
 Jansen, B. *Tristan und Parzival*. Utrecht, 1923.
 Halbach, K. *Gottfried von Straßburg und Konrad von Würzburg*. Stuttgart, 1930.

Dafür dürfte Will Vespers dümmliche Nacherzählung von 1911 ruhig fehlen. Ein Dutzend fataler Druckfehler verbessere ich stillschweigend. (Die Großbuchstaben des Alphabets, die Bogenlagen bezeichend, sind irritierend; vgl. SS. 37, 133, 181.)

Ich befnde mich in vollem Einverständnis mit Gough, was die Textgestaltung des *Meier Helmbrecht* betrifft (Oxford, 1947), pp. xxxvi, 112. Unter starker Bevorzugung der *Ambraser Hs.* führt er doch einige Male über das von Panzer in *Pauls Altdedeutscher* — nicht 'Althochdeutsche,' wie S. xxxiii verdrückt — *Textbibliothek* Geleistete hinaus. Die peinlichste Inkonsistenz in der Normalisierung der Schreibung betrifft *hēt*, dessen Länge bei einem Baiern feststeht, v. 1848 obendrein durch den Reim bewiesen ist. v. 1675 scheint mir mit Hs. B *vich* (: *gich*) besser als die frisierte Schreibung in A. Der Reim *hūs* : *ūz* 1709 ist für die Datierung des Gedichts zu wichtig, als daß der Herausgeber stillschweigend hätte darüber hinweggehn dürfen. Die geistesgeschichtliche Einordnung des Gedichts hängt von der Bedeutung ab, die man v. 111 dem Wort *hōvescheit* gibt; weder Glossar noch Kommentar gehen mit einem Wort darauf ein. In der Frage von Heimat und Beruf des Verfassers neige ich mehr als zu Gough zu Nordmeyers intelligenter Kritik in *MLQ* VIII (1947), 510.

Zum Schluß noch ein Wort vorbehaltloser Empfehlung für W. M. Calders feinfühlige *Selections from Hans Sachs* (Oxford, 1948), pp. vii, 45; die den 'plain text' genau nach Kinzels Ausgabe von 1927 gibt; die sehr vereinzelten Änderungen sind begründet. Auf 45 Seiten ist jeder Genre Sachs'scher Dichtung bestens repräsentiert. Mit einem Ladenpreis von etwa 60 cents ein ideales Büchlein für unsern Universitätsbetrieb.

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² Gegenüber älteren Versuchen, Eilharts Sprache als rheinländisch zu erweisen, vor allem jetzt Cordes, *Zur Sprache Eilhards* (Hamburg, 1939) sowie die Besprechung des Buches im *Anziger* 59 (1940), 63 ff.

JOHN MAXWELL'S *SUM REASOWNES AND PROWERBES*

One of the most striking incidental contributions of the late Morris P. Tilley's *Elizabethan Proverb Lore*¹ was his identification of the provenience of the bulk of the sayings in the manuscript of John Maxwell, the younger, of Southbar.² The writer in the *Paisley Magazine* had called Maxwell's sayings "perhaps the first collection in Scottish that we have (p. 386), but Tilley demonstrated that "The first one hundred and sixty-nine are from *Petite Pallace*, while the last fifty-two, from number one hundred and eighty-one to the end of the *Manuscript*, are from the first forty pages of *Euphues*."³ Tilley was unable to identify the sayings numbered 170-180, and remarked that "The eleven proverbs in question, if identified, would tell us what pamphlet, or, possibly, what longer work, Maxwell Younger considered sufficiently important to associate with *Petite Pallace* and *Euphues*."⁴ Later on, Tilley wrote that "It is difficult to account for these eleven proverbs that come after the one hundred and sixty-nine quotations from *Petite Pallace* and before the fifty-two from *Euphues*. Maxwell Younger *may* have found them either in the final pages of his

¹ *Elizabethan Proverb Lore in Lyly's Euphues and in Pettie's Petite Pallace*, University of Michigan Publications, Language and Literature, II, New York, 1926.

² Maxwell's manuscript is described, with representative quotations, in the *Paisley Magazine*, I (1828), 379-386, with references to the section containing the proverbs on pp. 381 and 386. The *Reasounes and prowerbes* were printed in the next issue of the *Magazine* (pp. 437-446), and again in William Motherwell's Introductory Essay to Andrew Henderson's *Scottish Proverbs* (Edinburgh, 1832), pp. xxxiv-xliv. Since Motherwell had been editor of the *Paisley Magazine* during the one year of its existence, the connection between the two printings is obvious, and it may well have been Motherwell in whose hands (*Magazine*, p. 381) the manuscript was in 1828. The quotations from the manuscript, whose present whereabouts is unknown to the immediate writer, suggest that it was a common-place book which would seem to deserve more attention than this note professes to give.

³ *Elizabethan Proverb Lore*, p. 6, and see pp. 357-382.

⁴ P. 6, n. 18. Tilley's consistent use of "Maxwell Younger" as the name of the compiler of the manuscript is apparently due to Henderson, p. xxxiii.

copy of *Petite Pallace* or in the initial pages of his copy of *Euphues*. The sense of the eleven quotations suggests a lost *Apology* by Pettie, printed at the end of his work. We have, however, no evidence that any matter at the end of *Petite Pallace* or at the beginning of *Euphues* has been omitted from the editions of the two books that we know of. They may, of course, be taken from some *short* work not connected with either *Petite Pallace* or *Euphues*.⁵

As a matter of fact, ten (nos. 171-180) of the eleven unidentified sayings were taken from the first fifth of John Rolland's *Seuin Seages*.⁶ The *Seuin Seages* was apparently first printed in 1578 and again in 1592 or 1595,⁷ and since Maxwell's manuscript was compiled between 1584 and 1589,⁸ it is clear that Maxwell used a copy of the first edition.

The following correspondences give first the saying as it was printed in the *Magazine* (p. 445) and second the source in the *Seuin Seages*.

171. Quhen twa argues on force thair talk man be contrair.
Quhen twa arguis, in ane or thay conclude
On force thair talk mon be contrarious. (P. 4, ll. 98-99).
172. Neide oft makis wertew.
And richt weill knawin, that neid oft makis vertew. (P. 7, l. 159).
173. Ane meik answer slokannis melancholie.
Ane meik answer slokins Melancolie. (P. 15, l. 213).
174. Na man suld wirk at thair pleso^r wtout cownsell.
We may persaue na Empreour
Nor King suld wirk at thair plesour
Without ane gude counsell. (P. 22, ll. 460-462).
175. Nyce is the Nychtingale.
Nyce is the Nychtingale. (P. 31, l. 752).
176. It is better to haif ane berde in hand, nor twa in the woode fleande.
I hard sic a lessoun, better to haue in hand
A bird in possessioun, nor twa in wod fleand. (P. 60, ll. 1691-1692).
177. Currage pruwokis hardenes.
Cvrage prouokis hardynes. (P. 76, l. 2212).

⁵ P. 377.

⁶ Ed., Geo. F. Black, Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 1932.

⁷ Pp. xvi-xvii.

⁸ *Paisley Magazine*, p. 381.

178. Adwentour gude and haif ay gude.
 Auenture gude and haue ay gude, . . . (P. 76, l. 2219).

179. Set all on adwentour,
 . . . set all on auenture. (P. 76, l. 2222).

180. Debait makis Destanie.
 . . . for debait makis destanie. (P. 76, l. 2219).

A clear source of the 170th saying is still lacking. "All erdlie plesure finiseth w^t wo" represents a sufficiently common sentiment,⁹ and the example nearest in phrasing which I have found is Gavin Douglas's "Sen erdlie plesour endis oft with sorrow, we se."¹⁰

Because the quotations from *Petite Pallace* are taken from the entire work, while those from *Euphues* come only from the first forty pages, Tilley felt that the manuscript might well be incomplete at the end,¹¹ a suggestion which, obviously on other grounds, had been expressed by the original editor.¹² Maxwell, however, either stopped reading, or ceased to take notes from,¹³ the *Seuin Seages* after l. 2219. Why, then, if he closed the *Seuin Seages* far from finished, should we go out of our way to deny him the right to do the same to *Euphues* after forty pages? If it be objected that Maxwell went resolutely through *Petite Pallace*, the rejoinder is evident: he read that first and a Scot, even in the sixteenth century, learns by experience.

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⁹ It is certainly suggested in the first few lines of the *Seuin Seages*: "For warldlie myrth wald haue sum temperance" (p. 1, l. 9) and "Sum gettis plesure, vthers gettis tray and tene Ze ken the Court can nocht ay stabill stand" (p. 1, ll. 17-18).

¹⁰ "Proloug of the Fyft Buik" of *Encados, Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas*, ed., John Small (4 vols., Edinburgh, 1874), II, 222, l. 12. See also Sir David Lindsay's *Testament of the Papynge, Works*, ed. Douglas Hamer (Scottish Text Society, 4 vols., Edinburgh, 1931-1934), I, 60, ll. 145-147, and G. L. Apperson, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases* (London, 1929), p. 502.

¹¹ P. 6, n. 19.

¹² *Paisley Magazine*, pp. 437-438.

¹³ Since the poem is rich in proverbs throughout, the first alternative is the more plausible.

A NOTE ON *SAMSON AGONISTES*, LL. 90-94

In the course of his complaint about his blindness, Samson asks why the sight was confined to the eyes. Why is it not, like the soul, whole in every part of the body or, like the feeling, diffused through all parts?

Since light so necessary is to life,
And almost life itself, if it be true
That light is in the Soul,
She all in every part; why was the sight
To such a tender ball as th'eye confin'd?¹

So far as I have noted, no one has called attention to the psychological commonplace alluded to in these lines. One of the questions dealt with in all treatments of the soul is its location, whether in one special organ, as the heart or the liver, or in the whole body, and if in the whole body whether one part of the soul informed the head, another the heart, and so on. Aristotle had hinted that, if the soul had parts, then each part of the body was informed by a part of the soul.²

This hint was not satisfactory, and there grew up early in the development of Christian psychology a formula which preserved the indivisibility of the soul; it is whole in the whole body and whole in every part of the body—"she all in every part."³

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¹ *Samson Agonistes* (Columbia ed.), ll. 90-94.

² *De Anima*, II, i (412b-413a).

³ One could probably collect a hundred repetitions of this formula in the fathers, in the scholastics, and in Renaissance authors who treat, either in Latin or in the vernacular, the soul. The following are but a few of possible citations:

Nam ideo simplicior [anima] est corpore, quia non mole diffunditur per spatiū loci, sed in unoquoque corpore, et in toto tota est, et in qualibet ejus parte tota est. [Augustine, *De Trinitate*, vi, 6 (*Migne Patrologia Latina*, xxxiii, 722).] Per eadem autem ostendi potest animam totam in toto corpore esse et totam in singulis partibus. [Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles*, II, lxxii (Vivès ed. XII, 193); also *Summa Theologica*, I, lxxvi, 8 (Vivès ed., I, 473)], Anima est tota in toto, et in qualibet parte

MILTON'S AID TO DAVENANT

Anthony Wood says that when Davenant was captured by Parliament ships in 1650 and imprisoned "to be tried for his life," he was saved chiefly by Milton.¹ Recent Davenant biographers, knowing that Davenant had other aid and seeing no way for Milton to help, question the reliability of Wood's statement.² The evidence ought to be reconsidered, however.

Wood's information came from the anonymous biography of Milton, which does not give a date or say that Milton saved Davenant's life. It says only that Milton befriended many, among them "Sr William Davenant when taken Prisoner, for . . . whom he *procur'd relief*."³ William Davenant Jr., whom Milton tutored perhaps as early as 1666, told old Jacob Tonson a strikingly similar story: "That when his father was in the tower he was *very much assisted* by Mr. Milton in his *gaining his Liberty*. . . ."⁴ The question then is not whether Milton saved Davenant's life, but how he might have helped him.

There was no trial for his life, but Davenant's imprisonment dragged on through many false hopes and just grievances. On March 20, 1653/4, he sent a petition to Cromwell, reviewing his

tota. Quod unde sumptum [hoc dictum] sit ignoro. Nam in Aristotele nusquam extat. [Phillip Melanthon, *Liber de Anima* in *Opera*, ed. C. G. Bretschneider (Halle, 1846), XIII, 18-19.] So doth the piercing Soul, the Body fill Being all in all, and all in part diffused . . . [Sir John Davies, *Nosce Te ipsum* (stanza 230), in A. H. Bullen, *Some Longer Elizabethan Poems* (Westminster, 1903), p. 74.] . . . and as God is wholly in every part of the world, so is the soul of man wholly in every part of the body. 'Anima est tota in toto, et tota in qualibet parte,' the soul is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in every part thereof, according to Aristotle . . . [Sir Walter Ralegh, *History of the World*, I, ii, 1 in *Works* (Edinburgh, 1826), I, 49. Ralegh had been misled by a marginal citation in his source, Pererius, into crediting this opinion to Aristotle.]

¹ *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss (1813), III, 805.

² Alfred Harbage, *Sir William Davenant* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935), p. 115. See also Arthur H. Nethercot, *Sir William D'avenant* (University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 281 ff.

³ *The Early Lives of Milton*, ed. Helen Darbishire (London: Constable & Co., 1932), p. 30. Italics mine.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 338. Italics mine.

wrongs and begging "freedom from writs, protection during the dependence of my case, and liberty to live obediently in my native country. . . ." ⁵ The Protector referred the case to the Council. On April 18th the Council reviewed the case and turned the whole matter over to a committee composed of Colonels Sydenham, Mackworth, and Montague, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and Mr. Strickland.⁶ Here were men whom Milton could approach, for he often sat with them in the Council chambers. Furthermore, Sydenham, Montague, and Strickland were signalled out for special praise in the *Defensio Secunda*, which appeared in May.⁷ On June 27th the committee ordered that Davenant be set at liberty and a pardon prepared, and on August 4th a warrant was issued for his official release from the Tower.⁸

If, as we have good reason to believe, Milton did exert himself for his fellow poet, he probably acted through this committee. Certainly it was in this way that he could best have "procured relief" for him, or "very much assisted" him in "gaining his liberty."

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THE ANNOTATIONS IN MILTON'S FAMILY BIBLE

In 1938, the annotations in Milton's family Bible (MS. Add. 32,310) were twice listed and discussed: in an article¹ and in volume XVIII of the *Columbia Milton*.² Neither of these accounts, however, is exhaustive; and one is not completely accurate. As a contribution, then, to a fuller description of these annotations, I offer the following additions to the *Columbia* text and notes:³

⁵ *CSPD*, 1654, p. 106.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-8.

⁷ *Columbia Works*, VIII, 235.

⁸ *CSPD*, 1654, pp. 224, 439.

¹ *PMLA*, LII (1938), 363-66.

² *The Works of John Milton*, New York, XVIII (1938), 274-75, 559-61.

³ Further study of Milton's Bible will probably reveal additional annotations that I, like my predecessors, have overlooked: the volume is thick, the ink sometimes faint, and the marks often small and not easily noticed. Text: p. 274: 3a. In Proverbs iv, 5, "youth." deleted and "mouth." written immediately after the deletion.

Notes: pp. 559-61:

- I. *Verses Underlined*: 2 Chronicles 14: 1; Esther 1: 8; Psalms 108: 13.
- II. *Symbols of Attention in Margins*:
 1. "NB" IN MARGIN": 2 Chronicles 14: 1; the Columbia citation of 2 Chronicles 19: 26, 27 is an error, as the chapter contains only 11 verses; Jeremiah 29: 11.
 2. "KJ" IN MARGIN: Ezra 3: 13; Esther 2: 20; Job. 7: 20; Psalms 108: 13; Jeremiah 29: 13.
 3. "+" IN MARGIN: 1 Chronicles 10: 13; Psalms 103, 3, 4, 6; Lamentations 3: 12.
 4. MISCELLANEOUS MARKS: 1 Chronicles 10: 14; Job. 27: 8, 9; Psalms 60: 11, 76: 9, 83: 18; the Columbia citation of Psalms 96: 12, 13 is incorrect, as the verses show no marks; Jeremiah 33: 3; Ecclesiasticus 7: 20.
 5. PASSAGES BRACKETED: 2 Chronicles 25: 16, 20; the Columbia citation of Psalms 94: 12, 13 is not accurate, for the marks do not constitute a bracket but rather a series of dots and three letters "Jt.K (?)" and could better be classified under 4, Miscellaneous Marks; Jeremiah 29: 11.
- IV. *Holes Burned through Pages*: Genesis 23; Proverbs 1; the Columbia citation of Matthew 3 is not accurate, for the hole is repaired, as the Columbia citation of Matthew 3: 5-7, under VI, indicates.
- VI. *Holes Patched and Restored with Handwriting*: leaf F [p. 35]; John 19: 4-5.

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"SHAKESPEARE PAYS SOME COMPLIMENTS"

Listed in iv, v, 13-15 of *Richard III* are the names of nobles who fought well against the tyrant; only five of the six are found in Holinshed. The exception is the Earl of Pembroke. A Sir James Blunt is also mentioned in this scene. In v, iii, however, this doughty Captain within the space of fourteen lines (30-43) is cited no less than three times. Turning to Holinshed, we find that the title has been furnished him by Shakespeare. In the source he is simply "Iames Blunt, capteine of the . . . fortresse . . . of Calais."¹ Now the Blunts were one of the wealthy land-owning families of Stratford who were related by marriage to the Combes, the family with whom the poet was intimate. In the will of John Combe, wherein a bequest was left the poet, we find a Sir Edward

¹ Everyman Ed., pp. 166-67.

Blunt named as one of the executors.² Interestingly enough the Blunts were knighted in 1588. In the light of these facts is it not warranted to assume that the Young Shakespeare was paying pretty compliments to the descendants of families known personally to him?

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SHAKESPEARE'S SONNET NO. 8

The first thirteen lines elaborate a comparison between the friend and music. Himself the embodiment of music, he does not want to hear it although he really loves it. Music, a "true concord of well-tuned sounds", chides him because he destroys by being single (1. unmarried; 2. a single note) the harmony he should make (To sing or play one part in an ensemble is to bear a part). Music is harmony; the strings struck simultaneously produce a single note, the union of many sounds. In this they resemble a family, which is a unity made up of sire, child, and mother. The sonnet concludes:

Whose speechless song, being many, seeming one,
Sings this to the: 'Thou single wilt prove none.'

There are two interpretations of the last sentence: Tyler's, "Thou canst give forth no harmony, and must eventually cease altogether"; and Dowden's, "Perhaps an allusion to the proverbial expression that one is no number. Compare Sonnet cxxxvi 'Among a number one is reckon'd none.'" Dowden seems to have been followed by all the remaining editors. However, both readings are unsatisfactory. To assume, as does Dowden, a shift in the last line to a mathematical metaphor is to destroy the unity of the poem, a unity like that of other sonnets built on a single image. Such sonnets are exceptional, but they exist and are aesthetically satisfying, whereas a sonnet built on two images in the proportion of thirteen to one would be unique as well as an aesthetic monstrosity.

The last line is the culmination of the musical image, an idea that Tyler seems only partially to have grasped. A chord, being in

² *William Shakespeare: Facts & Problems*, E. K. Chambers (Oxford, 1930), 11, 137.

reality many sounds, although it seems only one, warns the friend that if he remains unmarried, a single string sounded alone, he will prove to be no true music.

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AN ENGLISH SOURCE FOR ONE OF MORE'S
LATIN EPIGRAMS

A contemporary English version, apparently unnoted, of a Latin epigram of Sir Thomas More entitled "In amicam foedi-fragam iocosvm, versum e cantione anglica," appears in a Tudor manuscript songbook, the Fairfax Manuscript (Br. Mus. Add. Ms. 5654):¹

Benedicte what dremyd I this nyȝt
me thought the worlde was turnyd vp so downe
the son the moone had lost ther force and lyȝt
the see also drownyd both towre and towne
yett more mervell how that I hard the sownde
of onys voice sayyng bere In thy mynd
thi lady hath forgoen to be kynd.

More's Latin rendering is as follows:

Dij melius, uenero mihi hae quae somnia nocte?
Tota semel mundi machina uersa ruit.
Nec sua lux Phoebo constabat, nec sua Phoebe
Iamque tumens omnem strauerat aequor humum.
Mains adhuc mirum, nox en mihi dicere uisa est,
Heus tua iam pectam fregit amica fidem.

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¹ Cf. Bernhard Fehr, ed., "Die Lieder des Fairfax MS," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, v. 106, 1901, p. 55. The English version, as well as the musical setting for three voices, is anonymous.

A BOETHIAN PARALLEL TO *F. Q.* I, ii, 1, 2-4

Though Todd has pointed out that the "northerne wagoner" of *F. Q.*, I, ii, 1, 1, is Boötes, no editor has indicated that the following reference to

" . . . the stedfast starre,
That was in Ocean Waues yet neuer wet,
But firme is fixt, . . . "

perpetuates a poetic conception of the pole star and its associated constellation which was memorably stated in Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, Book iv, Metrum vi, *Si vis Celsi iura*. In Chaucer's translation the passage reads;

Ne the sterre yclepid the Bere, that enclyneth his ravysschynge coursis
abowte the sovereyn heigthe of the world—ne the same sterre Ursa nis
nevere mo wasschen in the depe westrene see, ne coveyteth nat to deeyen
his flaumbes in the see of the occian, although it see othere sterres
iplowngid in the see.¹

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CONTEMPORARY DEFENSE OF WORDSWORTH'S
"PEDLAR"

Of the critical questions arising out of consideration of Wordsworth's *Excursion*, one that interested contemporary reviewers was the propriety of casting one of the interlocutors as a *pedlar*. This question received the differing attentions of no less persons than Charles Lamb and Francis Jeffrey, and was a substantial factor in determining the reception of the poem.

Charles Lamb in the *Quarterly Review* first spoke directly on this subject: "One objection it is impossible not to foresee. It will be asked, why put such eloquent discourse in the mouth of a pedlar?"¹ Lamb answered in terms of Wordsworth's philosophy and the setting of the poem, and suggested that any who were offended by the word *pedlar* could "substitute silently the word

¹ *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, edited by F. N. Robinson. Boston, 1933. P. 433.

¹ *Quarterly Review*, xii (1814), 111.

*Palmer, or Pilgrim, or any less offensive designation,"*² if that were necessary to enable them to enjoy the poem.

That Lamb foresaw clearly, the *Edinburgh Review* demonstrated the next month. Francis Jeffrey began, "This will never do," and mounted to a climax of exasperation in his remarks on the occupation of the pedlar.

Why should Mr. Wordsworth have made his hero a superannuated Pedlar? What but the most wretched and provoking perversity of taste and judgment, could induce any one to place his chosen advocate of wisdom and virtue in so absurd and fantastic a condition?³

Among sarcasms about higgling over brass buttons and selling flannel, Jeffrey exclaimed:

... is it not plain that, independent of the ridicule and disgust which such a personification must give to many of his readers, its adoption exposes his work throughout to the charge of revolting incongruity, and utter disregard of probability or nature?⁴

The *Eclectic Review*, an organ of dissenters, spoke from a background different from that of the aristocratic Scottish gentleman, and to different effect: "It was one of the most daring experiments in modern poetry, to make a *quondam* Pedlar the hero of 'a literary work, that might live,' and we will venture to say it has been one of the most successful."⁵ "Moral and intellectual dignity," the *Eclectic* maintained, "the God of Nature . . . bestows on select individuals . . . scattered through every walk of life."⁶ This reviewer did not find the philosophical pedlar literally plausible. "But if this paragon have no prototype in individual man, it has perfect ideal existence, and therefore poetical reality. It resembles Nature as the Belvidere Apollo, and the Venus de Medici resemble her. . . ."⁷ The *British Critic*, a high church journal, also voiced a democratic reaction to the pedlar, though a less vehement one than the dissenting *Eclectic*. Said the *British Critic*:

We could almost wish, not for our own pleasure, but to avoid scandalizing such as feel by rule, that our author had given a being thus educated

² *Ibid.*

³ *Edinburgh Review*, XXIV (1814), 29-30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁵ *Eclectic Review*, n. s. III (1815), 26.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

some higher employment. . . . And certainly, they who feel no delight in the sublimities of this man's song . . . merely because he is called a pedlar, must needs be the slaves of names to an extraordinary degree, and that is a kind of service not very manly nor very philosophical.⁸

Take that, Mr. Jeffrey. There is more to come.

The *British Review* and *London Critical Journal*, a few years later publicized by Lord Byron as "my Grandmother's Review," replied to Jeffrey's *Edinburgh* review in the most personal terms. Talk of flannels and buttons is easy ridicule, said the *British Review*, but those who know our mountaineers would show more respect. Also, even if the pedlar were improbable, the poet "would have a perfect right to suppose such a character."⁹ In short,

It is an arrogant ignorance of the nature of the human mind that ventures thus to prescribe to the poet the probabilities of character. . . . The whole process of mind in this intelligent mountaineer is, in fact, traced by Mr. Wordsworth with beautiful consistency and truth.¹⁰

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HAWTHORNE'S USE OF A PATTERN FROM THE RAMBLER

Five sketches in Hawthorne's *Mosses*—"A Select Party," "The Hall of Fantasy," "The Christmas Banquet," "The Intelligence Office," and "A Virtuoso's Collection"—show similarity of design but differ radically in this aspect of their artistry from their companion pieces. Each has a brief introduction and conclusion separated by a somewhat extended section enumerating objects in catalog fashion or presenting a pageant of individual figures who pass in somewhat rapid succession. Newton Arvin disposes of the sketches in a lump, except for "The Christmas Banquet," as the "veriest bagatelles," which give "the impression of high, uncommon energy being dissipated in the service of cheap and silly ends."¹¹

⁸ *British Critic*, XLV (1815), 457-458.

⁹ *British Review and London Critical Journal*, VI (1815), 57-58.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹¹ *Hawthorne* (Boston, 1929), pp. 125-126. Cf. G. E. Woodberry, *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Boston and New York, 1902), p. 121, who speaks of "A Virtuoso's Collection" as having "a peculiar character, being no more than a play of fancy, a curiosity of literary invention."

Mrs. Alice L. Cooke has demonstrated that for two of the pieces, "A Select Party" and "The Hall of Fantasy," Hawthorne was much indebted to Swift.² For general structure, however, all probably proceed from his acquaintance with a few issues of Dr. Johnson's *Rambler* of similar design. Several of Johnson's essays display such pattern,³ and there is reason to believe that the author of *Mosses* was familiar with Numbers 82 and 105 of the *Rambler*,⁴ in particular, and drew upon them for "A Virtuoso's Collection" and "The Intelligence Office."

Though Hawthorne confesses never "caring much about any of the stalwart Doctor's grandiloquent productions except his two stern and masculine poems 'London' and 'The Vanity of Human Wishes,'"⁵ there is evidence that he had handled *The Lives of the Poets*⁶ and *Rasselas*.⁷ Moreover, we have his own statement concerning his early acquaintance with Boswell's *Life*⁸ and his tributes to Johnson in *Biographical Stories*⁹ and in *Our Old Home*,¹⁰ as well as copious expression in *The English Notebooks*,¹¹ to testify to his fondness for Johnson the man.

Whether or not he ever read extensively in the Doctor's journalistic writings, his attention must have been attracted in Boswell to the expression concerning the *Rambler*, "No. 82, a Virtuoso who has collected curiosities,"¹² and his interest challenged to know the content. Not many pages beyond this paper he would have come upon one about the Universal Register. Little need be said of the

² "Some Evidences of Hawthorne's Indebtedness to Swift," *Studies in English*, the University of Texas Bulletin, No. 18 (1938), pp. 140-162.

³ *The Works of Samuel Johnson with an Essay on His Life and Genius* by Arthur Murray, Esq. (New York, 1837), I, 131, 165, 317, 320.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 131, 165.

⁵ *The Complete Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, Wayside ed. (Boston and New York, 1902), VII, 150.

⁶ *The Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXVIII (January, 1932), 67.

⁷ Arlin Turner, *Hawthorne as Editor* (Louisiana State University Press, 1941), p. 199.

⁸ *The Complete Works*, VII, 149.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XII, 166-171.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VII, 160-168.

¹¹ *The English Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne*, ed. Randall Stewart (New York and London, 1941), pp. 101, 148, 149, 152, 153, 223, 252, 281, 293, 327, 369, 515, 542, 555, 598.

¹² James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, Everyman ed. (London and New York, 1910), I, 128.

relationship of Hawthorne's "A Virtuoso's Collection" to the first of these, as it is quite obvious.¹³ Though point of view, approach, and theme are different, each has a central section consisting of a catalog of a strange assortment of objects, and each reveals a virtuoso devoid of human sympathy.¹⁴ *Rambler*, No. 105, takes the form of a vision, in which the observer, subsequent to a period of meditation, is brought in dream to a palace in which Justice and Truth, respectively, investigate and record in a Universal Register the desires of men. The allegorical figure Curiosity identifies the place for the dreamer, indicates the functions of the two operators, and then, in company with the dreamer, observes and listens as a number of men present singly their complaints and wishes. The sleeper is at length awakened as a question is put to him. Hawthorne's "The Intelligence Office," though not a dream vision, follows the tripartite pattern and presents a number of men who appear in turn—here, before the single intelligence officer—to relate their wishes, desires, complaints. Johnson makes Truth the recorder; Hawthorne has Truth sought by the last of the petitioners. What Curiosity points out as the activities of Justice and Truth applies as well to the operator of the Intelligence Office:

. . . to register the demands and pretensions of mankind, that the world may at last be reduced to order, and that none may complain hereafter of being doomed to tasks for which they are unqualified, of possessing faculties for which they cannot find employment, of virtues that languish unobserved for want of opportunities to exert them, of being encumbered with superfluities which they would willingly resign, or of wasting away in desires which ought to be satisfied.¹⁵

Hawthorne preserves his own philosophic point of view. Whereas Johnson's applicants are all impostors, conniving to prey upon the public, some of Hawthorne's have had their bitter experience and are remorseful. Hawthorne stresses the indefiniteness and transiency of men's desires and their mistaken sense of values; Johnson emphasizes the knavery.

¹³ One paper of *The Tatler*, No. 216 deals with a virtuoso and some of his collection, but it is not so evidently a source for "A Virtuoso's Collection" as is *The Rambler*.

¹⁴ Hawthorne's interest in Johnson's fear of death (cf. *The Complete Works*, VII, 150) may have prompted the scene in "A Virtuoso's Collection" in which the author declines the offer of earthly immortality.

¹⁵ *The Works of Samuel Johnson*, I, 166.

In the five sketches mentioned at the beginning of this note Hawthorne employs the pattern on which the two sketches from the *Rambler* are built; for "The Virtuoso's Collection" and "The Intelligence Office" he seems to have borrowed also pertinent suggestions for content.

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"DOOM IS DARK AND DEEPER THAN ANY
SEA-DINGLE"

W. H. Auden and *Sawles Warde*

That W. H. Auden has been much influenced by medieval, especially English, literature must be obvious to any reader of his work.¹ His great reliance on alliteration, his diction and his imagery, all bear out his own statement, "The three greatest influences on my own work have been, I think, Dante, Langland [and Pope]."² In the hope of providing an exact example of that influence and of elucidating one of the poet's most popular and difficult poems, "Doom is Dark and Deeper than any Sea-Dingle," I wish to call attention to the Middle English source of this striking opening line.³

This short poem appeared in Auden's first published collection of his work entitled *Poems* in 1930, when the influence of his Oxford days must still have been strong upon him. He had graduated from that University in 1928 after having read in English literature and the social sciences. Shortly thereafter, in the same year, he left for Berlin. The English school at Oxford would certainly have weighted its reading requirements heavily in favor of the early period. Auden has described his University days as follows:

¹ See, e.g., Henry W. Wells, *New Poets from Old*, New York, (1940), 48 ff., 66 ff., 196 etc. Mr. Auden's latest work, *Age of Anxiety*, New York (1947), is written entirely in the alliterative style.

I wish to render here my thanks to Mr. Ephim G. Fogel for various suggestions which I have used in this paper.

² "Criticism in a Mass Society," *The Intent of the Critic* by Edmund Wilson, Norman Foerster, John Crowe Ransom and W. H. Auden, ed. with an Introduction by Donald A. Stauffer (1941), 132.

³ In the recent collected edition of Auden's poems, New York, 1945 (pp. 34-35) "Doom is Dark" is called "Something is Bound to Happen." Previously it bore no definite title.

All youth's intolerant certainty was mine as
 I faced life in a double-breasted suit;
 I bought and praised but did not read Aquinas,
 At the *Criterion's* verdict I was mute,
 Though Arnold's I was ready to refute;
 And through the quads dogmatic words rang clear,
 'Good poetry is classic and austere.'⁴

The source of Auden's opening line in "Doom is Dark" is to be found in the alliterative prose West Midland homily, *Sawles Warde*, one of the so-called Katherine group of texts concerned with religious subjects, dated early thirteenth century by its latest editor.⁵ It is a loose and much expanded version of chapters XIII-XV of the fourth book of Hugh of St. Victor's *De Anima*, a work which employs allegory and figurative language in a manner characteristic of the author.

The Middle English homily, taking the suggestion from its source, is based on the common medieval symbolic figure of man as a castle. Here the father or master of the house is Wit (reason or intelligence),⁶ and his wife is an unruly female called Will.⁷ Their servants are the five senses. Wit has as supporters four daughters of the Lord, the four cardinal virtues, Prudence, (Spiritual) Strength, Moderation and Righteousness. These five attempt to keep Madame Will in check but, since the servants tend to side with the mistress, things are rather difficult. When Wit leaves the house, the servants cannot be relied upon to guard it. "But it behoveth not that this house be robbed, for there is therein the treasure that God gave himself for, that is, man's soul. For to break this house for this treasure that God redeemed with his death. . . ."⁸

⁴ See W. H. Auden and Louis MacNeice, *Letters from Iceland*, London (1937), 209.

⁵ R. M. Wilson, *Sawles Warde, An Early Middle English Homily Edited from the Bodley, Royal and Cotton MSS.* (Leeds School of English Language Texts and Monographs III [1938]), pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

⁶ Translates the Latin *animus*.

⁷ Will is not found in *De Anima* and is probably the creation of the English homilist, who is however following tradition in setting Wit against Will.

⁸ A modified version of Richard Morris' translation of *Sawles Warde* in *Old English Homilies*, First Series, EETS., 34 (1868), 246. The second sentence here which I leave incomplete is badly constructed in the original and would hardly qualify as a complete sentence in modern English. The remainder not printed here is, however, of no importance to my argument.

Then two visitors arrive, one after the other, at the house: Fear of Death who regales the household with a description of hell much expanded from the original, and Love of Life who tells its inmates of the joys of heaven. In the course of this latter description, Love of Life speaks of the delights enjoyed by those who dwell in God's sight. "They are so wise that they know all God's counsels, his mysteries, and his dooms [judgments] which are secret and deeper than any sea dingle." (Ha beoð se wise þat ha witen alle godes reades. his runes *ant* his domes þe derne beoð *ant* deopre þen eni sea dingle).⁹ The four daughters, after this, suggest to Fear of Death that he depart as long as Love of Life is present. After he leaves, protesting, Dame Will and the servants are at last quiet and submit themselves to their natural master, Wit. The sermon concludes with a brief *significatio*, emphasizing that man should obey Wit, his master, and keep Will in her place with the help of the four sisters.

Professor Wilson in his edition of the homily points out that "sea-dingle" translates or stands for Hugo's term *abyssus* and that the word does not appear again in English literature until Drayton uses it. The word "dingle" is of doubtful etymology and is found in a few place names in the west of England.¹⁰

There can be no doubt that Auden is echoing this striking Middle English sentence in his poem. The phrasing, the rhythm and the extreme rarity of the word "dingle" make that clear. He has, however, changed the obsolete "derne" (secret) to "dark" and has put "domes" into the singular number. Doom also has a different connotation and force in Modern English than in Middle English. The differences in meaning are, however, slight, and he has preserved the effective *d* alliteration and has improved the assonance, giving us two back vowels in the two main words in the first half of the line to balance the three front ones in *deeper*, *sea* and *dingle*.

Will a knowledge of Auden's source here help to elucidate the meaning of his poem? That such knowledge makes clear that the doom in the first line comes from God cannot be questioned. What

⁹ I have used Morris' translation, p. 262 (see preceding note) and his text (p. 263) here. The three MSS. as may be seen in Wilson's edition, pp. 34-35 (lines 318-320) present variations at this point, but they are of no significance to our purpose. MS. Royal 17. A. 27, however, drops the word "domes."

¹⁰ See Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

about the rest of the poem? There are a number of obvious parallels. In both poem and sermon, a house, its master, a feminine household¹¹ and the fact of the master's leaving the house are all referred to. The general circumstances under which "Doom is Dark" was written, particularly the date of its composition, would make it at least possible that Auden, who had probably read the *Sawles Warde* for his Oxford tutor, could have used with conscious purpose this Middle English work.

On the other hand, the differences between the two works are striking. The emphasis in each is different. In the homily, the preacher is interested primarily in the house and its inmates and rarely does he leave this subject. In the poem, however, the emphasis is rather on the journey of the man, and the hope is expressed that he may return safely from his dangers. (Still Mr. Auden prays that the house too may be protected). The details of the poem, moreover, the "day-wishing flowers," the "undried sea," the "unquiet bed," the "kissing of wife under single sheet," the "sudden tiger's spring at corner" need to be carefully examined for their own meanings, for it is certain that *Sawles Warde* provides no help in interpreting these phrases.

The poem, moreover, suggests, in general, a Greek, not a Christian, conception of fate. Auden once used the title "Chorus" for it which further strengthens that feeling. Hence we must hesitate before attempting to read into "Doom is Dark" an allegory of reason deserting man or some such interpretation. It does seem, however, that house, master, women and the departure from a house were part of the apperceptive mass which clung to Auden's memory of his opening line. It has been said of Auden that "his magpie brain [is] a horde of curious and suggestive phrases."¹² In that horde clustered around the homilist's phrase these associated ideas could very well have lingered, and when the mysterious forces that engender creation set to work, these ideas may have arisen to be used as the author saw fit. Out of the alembic came a poem far from the spirit of *Sawles Warde*, but still bearing upon it signs of Auden's earlier reading and studying. The poet's interest in Middle English literature which comes out in full force in his recent *Age of Anxiety*

¹¹ "No cloud-soft hand can hold him, restraint by women."

¹² Christopher Isherwood speaking of Auden under the thin disguise of Hugh Weston in *Lions and Shadows, An Education in the Twenties*, London (1938), 191.

is no new phenomenon, and remembering that Auden nosed "among Saxon skulls, roots of our genealogies" ¹³ will aid us in the fuller comprehension of the body of his poetry and of his methods of composing, just as it surely provides us with the source of the line "Doom is dark and deeper than any sea-dingle."

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A NOTE ON JOYCE AND YEATS

Many of James Joyce's references in *Ulysses* to specific persons, places, and events have been listed, and readers have been shocked or delighted by Joyce's sardonic comments on Irish literary men, especially in the scene in the library; but one satirical allusion to Yeats has not been noted. In the opening of *Ulysses*, Buck Mulligan at breakfast in the tower gives Haines, the Englishman, a sample of peasant talk and adds,

—That's folk . . . for your book, Haines. Five lines of text and ten pages of notes about the folk and fishgods of Dundrum. Printed by the weird sisters in the year of the big wind.¹

Mr. Richard M. Kain recently quoted this passage as an example of Mulligan's "genial ridicule of Haines's interest in folklore."² Actually, the passage refers directly and sharply to Yeats's volume, *In the Seven Woods*, published in 1903, eleven months before the supposed time of the events of *Ulysses*, June, 1904. The colophon of Yeats's book reads:

Here ends *In the Seven Woods*, written by William Butler Yeats, printed, upon paper made in Ireland, and published by Elizabeth Corbet Yeats at the Dun Emer Press, in the house of Evelyn Gleeson at Dundrum in the county of Dublin, Ireland, finished the sixteenth day of July, in the year of the big wind, 1903.

¹³ See "Letter to W. H. Auden," C. Day Lewis, *Collected Poems 1929-1933*, New York (1935), 101.

¹ James Joyce, *Ulysses* (New York, 1934), p. 14.

² Richard M. Kain, *Fabulous Voyager* (Chicago, 1947), pp. 103-4.

The fact that Yeats had annotated elaborately several volumes of his early verse makes Mulligan's "Five lines of text and ten pages of notes" applicable to Yeats; and the place Dundrum, the press run by Yeats's sister and another woman (Mulligan's "weird sisters"), and the date "in the year of the big wind" make clear that Joyce was aiming, or causing Mulligan to aim, not only at what he thought the absurdities of the Irish folklorists in general but at Yeats in particular.

Two of Yeats's comments on *Ulysses*, which he read in 1922 with profound admiration, perhaps best describe Joyce's hard personal thrusts; for Yeats found in the book, he said, "our Irish cruelty, also our kind of strength"; and he felt, too, in the Martello tower scenes, Joyce's "cruel playful mind like a great soft tiger cat."³

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REVIEWS

Novalis' Hymnen an die Nacht, zur Deutung und Datierung. Von H. KAMLA, Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1945. iv, 200 pp.

Novalis et la pensée mystique. Par MAURICE BESET, Paris, Aubier, 1947. 197 pp.

Der Mythus der Musik in Novalis' Heinrich von Ofterdingen. Von A. J. M. Bus, Alkmaar, Herms. Coster & Zoon, 1947. (Diss., Amsterdam). 165 pp.

In 1921 Paul Kluckhohn and Richard Samuel published their edition of Novalis' *Schriften* in four volumes (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut). This edition was the fruit of over sixty years of Novalis scholarship and, in turn, provided the starting point for further research. The writings of Novalis, perhaps more than the writings of any other author, pose extremely difficult questions of textual criticism and exegesis. It was therefore particularly regrettable when the projected textual and explanatory notes had to be omitted from the Kluckhohn-Samuel edition.

The date and genesis of the *Hymnen an die Nacht* is among the editorial cruces. They were first published in 1800 in the *Athenaeum* ("A"); by and large, scholars inclined to see in them the

³ Quoted by Joseph Hone, *W. B. Yeats* (New York, 1943), p. 371.

more or less immediate expression of the poet's reaction to the death, in March, 1797, of Sophie, his fiancée. Then an earlier manuscript version ("h") became known and was published by Heilborn in his edition of 1901. Since then, 1799 has often been suggested as a more likely date for the *Hymnen*; there was, for example, a possible influence of Schleiermacher's *Reden* which did not appear until 1799; or again R. Unger suggested a possible influence of Herder's *Paramythien* which Novalis read in 1799. 1799 seemed finally established as the year of composition when Kluckhohn in his edition, on graphological evidence, proved this year to be the date of the manuscript version (h) which was considered the poet's actual first draft.

In 1930 H. Ritter¹ re-examined the manuscript (h) in order to find a definitive textual basis for his interpretation of the hymns. He was not primarily concerned with the question of date. His minute analysis of the manuscript led him to new conclusions: the first part of the manuscript, containing hymns 1-4, was *not* a first draft but rather had to be considered a copy of an earlier lost version ("x").² He suggested 1797 as the date of x, which was copied in 1799 when the remaining parts were composed (h); the whole was then revised for publication in the *Athenaeum* (A). This, of course, opened the question of how far the hymns were conceived and executed as a unified poem (or cycle of poems).

H. Kamla starts, so to speak, where Ritter had left off. With some modification his is an attempt to substantiate Ritter's dating and to supply the proof. The great value of Kamla's study is his scholarly, careful, critical review of all available evidence and his re-examination of theories, deductions, hypotheses of earlier scholars. He comes to the conclusion that x (1797) must have contained hymns 1-3 and what in h is the second (verse) part of hymn 4. He seeks to support the later composition of hymns 5, 6, and the first (prose) part of hymn 4 by two major, new considerations. First, he sees in these later parts a conscious and intentional rejection of the this-worldly classicism of Weimar; and, mainly by analyzing Novalis' critique of Goethe's *Meister*, Kamla attempts to show that the opposition to the spirit (not to the art) of Weimar did not crystallize in Novalis until 1799. Secondly, Kamla maintains that the central ideas of the fifth hymn were possible only after the correspondence with F. Schlegel between November, 1798, and March, 1799; for, on December 2, 1798, Schlegel had expounded his "Gedanken von Religion und Bibel" and had referred to Lessing, and Novalis had answered that most

¹ H. Ritter, *Novalis' Hymnen an die Nacht, ihre Deutung nach dem Inhalt und Aufbau auf textkritischer Grundlage*. Heidelberg, 1930. (Beitr. z. neueren Litg., N. F. 13).

² The probability of the existence of x was further enhanced by a statement of Novalis' brother, Karl, which R. Samuel quoted in his review of Ritter, *DLZ* li (1930), 1372 sqq.

of it had remained to him "kimmerisch dunkel"; if Kamla's interpretation of Schlegel's ideas is correct, Novalis must have gained an understanding of what was first "dunkel" to him before he could have finished hymn 5; and Kamla tries to trace the germination of Schlegel's ideas in Novalis' consequent letters.

For Kamla the question of date is closely related to the question of interpretation; he sees the cycle as a unified whole which shows the inner growth and development from "Sophie" (using this name to denote a complex of motives) to Christ and, eventually, God. The poem, then, would reflect Novalis' own development between 1797, when conjectured x was written, and 1799, when h was finished. The point of inception is the hoped-for reunion with the deceased betrothed; but in Novalis, and consequently in the hymns, this gives way to a general yearning for the infinite; there is a shift from the apotheosis of love to a hope for spiritual deliverance, from the erotical to the religious, from Sophie to Christ and God,—a shift foreshadowed, to be sure, in the diary of 1797 when Novalis wrote: "Christus und Sophie." Already Ritter had pointed out that the end of the first hymn in the manuscript version (h) speaks of night primarily in terms of "Liebesvereinigung":

Wir sinken auf der Nacht Altar
 Aufs weiche Lager —
 Die Hülle fällt
 Und angezündet von dem warmen Druck
 Entglüht des süßen Opfers
 Reine Glut.

It is only in the revision of this passage (A) and in the later hymns that night becomes the symbol of death and the metaphysical world. This shift, then, both explains the genesis of the hymns and at the same time constitutes the unifying theme of the hymns.

Within a much larger framework Maurice Basset comes to a somewhat related interpretation of the hymns. His topic is the place of Novalis within the tradition of European mysticism (more particularly his spiritual kinship to Jacob Boehme). His is a sound book, offering interpretations which, if not incontestable, illuminate the writings of Novalis.³ A short, and necessarily summary, first section outlines the tradition of mysticism. Novalis represents a synthesis of the two main streams of mysticism, i. e. of pantheistic nature mysticism and of the mystical absorption in God. It is not new, but it is worth re-stating, that Novalis did not advocate a *contemptus mundi* but rather the acceptance of night, death, God, and the world of the spirit as something that can be recognized on this earth. In passing, Basset offers some valuable contributions to a study of the "Bildungsiede" in Novalis, i. e. of

³ By contrast we might mention so occult and esoteric an approach as that of Powell Spring, *Novalis, Pioneer of the Spirit*, Winter Park, Fla., The Orange Press, 1946.

Novalis' very conscious effort at self-formation and self-discipline towards the *vita mystica*.

The inner history of Novalis' turn to mysticism, his calling or awakening to mysticism (*l'appel*), is the subject of Basset's second section. Novalis' diary of 1797, started two months after the death of Sophie, is regarded by Basset as the faithful record of this awakening. Against this it might be argued that the *divinisatio*, the apotheosis, of Sophie must have previously been present in order that her death could become such an overwhelmingly strong spiritual experience. A third section of the book then deals with Novalis' inner preparation for his main poetic works (*l'attente*); Basset shows how, in his fragments, notes, and aphorisms (the bulk of which antedates the poetic works), Novalis poetizes and "mysticizes" thoughts that came to him from Fichte, Schelling, Hemsterhuis.

The last part of Basset's study is devoted to the poetic writings of Novalis (*l'accomplissement*). In *Die Christenheit oder Europa* Basset sees the theoretical exposition and definition of a new church, a third realm, a new poetico-religio-mystical world wherein are united the finite and the infinite, the real world and the metaphysical world, or—to quote from the song of Astralis at the beginning of the second part of *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*—the present and the future, reality and dream, life and death. Of this world the *Hymnen* are the immediate mystical vision, whereas *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* describes the stations on the way to this new world. If *Die Christenheit* is the theology of the new religion, *Ofterdingen* is its quasi-biblical story, and the *Hymnen* are the direct visionary experience of it. As Ritter had already emphasized, the *Hymnen* are not the report or account of a vision but rather the vision itself. Such an interpretation would, of course, gain support if the third hymn could be dated close to the "Enthusiasmusmoment" recorded in the diary of May 13, 1797.

The present reviewer must confess that he is baffled by Dr. Bus' dissertation and is not quite sure whether he grasped the author's main points. But Dr. Bus makes one observation that is relevant to the preceding discussion, namely that the rhythmic swing between antithetic moods and emotions in *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* is but a musical rhythm that is resolved in harmony and concord ("Einklang"); thus we may perhaps say that it is yet another expression of Novalis' anticipation of a new world of harmony, love, and sympathy; it is, so to speak, the rhythm of his own personality. The somewhat puzzling "Mythus der Musik" is perhaps explained by the following definition: ". . . mit Musik [ist] nicht das überlaute Klingen Tiecks gemeint . . . , sondern vielmehr jener fast lautlose, mythisch erscheinende Gesang der inneren Natur" (p. 40). In a first section, Dr. Bus discusses Novalis' ideas, thoughts, visions ("Gehalt"), in the second part form, style, composition ("Gestalt") in the terms of music so defined.

A review of these three latest monographs does not exactly present a full "Forschungbericht," but at least it clearly shows the international character of the present interest in Novalis.⁴

LUDWIG W. KAHN

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Primitivism and Related Ideas in Sturm und Drang Literature.

By EDITH AMELIE RUNGE (Hesperia, Studies in Germanic Philology, Nr. 21). Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1946. Pp. xii + 305. \$3.50.

Die vorliegende Arbeit gehört zu einer Reihe dankenswerter Untersuchungen, die im Anschluss an den Primitivismus-Begriff Lovejoy's versuchen, den kulturkritischen Strömungen früherer Jahrhunderte nachzugehen. Wir sind im Angesicht jüngster Geschichte ja wesentlich hellhöriger geworden für die ersten Anzeichen, in denen sich der Zweifel der europäischen Menschheit an Sinn und Wert ihrer eigenen Entwicklung ausgedrückt hat. Korff hat in seiner tiefdringenden Durchleuchtung der Goethezeit Rousseau als den ersten konsequenter Verneiner der modernen Entwicklung gesehen und die Aufeinanderfolge der drei grossen Wunschnäide dargestellt, welche die an sich irre werdende Kultur des späten 18. Jahrhunderts vor sich aufrichtete: Natur, Griechentum und Mittelalter.

Dieses Unbehagen, mit dem sich der zivilisierte Mensch von seiner eigenen Zivilisation abwendet, nennt Lovejoy Primitivismus. Nicht mehr imstande oder willens, sich in den komplizierten Verhältnissen einer allzu differenziert und unübersichtlich werden den Kultur zurechtfzufinden, erträumt und erstrebt der Mensch einfachere und einheitlichere Zustände, die er nicht selten in frühere, bessere Zeiten zurückverlegt und als ideales Mass benutzt, an dem die Gegenwart gemessen und verworfen wird. Das Gegenbild gegen die eigene Zeit, das der revoltierende Sturm und Drang aufstellte, hiess bekanntlich "Natur." Leider steht eine eingehende Geschichte dieses vieldeutigen Begriffes noch immer aus; für das klassische Altertum allein haben Boas und Lovejoy nicht weniger als sechsundsechzig verschiedene Bedeutungen zusammengestellt. Mit Notwendigkeit steht der Naturbegriff auch im Mittelpunkt

⁴ As further proof of this international interest we should at least mention Novalis, *Petits Ecrits* (*Kleine Schriften*), traduit et présenté par Geneviève Bianquis; Paris, Aubier, 1947. Mme Bianquis' scholarly introduction to this bilingual edition offers valuable interpretations. Her earlier similar edition of the hymns was not available at the present writing.

von Edith Runges Untersuchung. Die Natur wird, ihr zufolge, im Sturm und Drang nicht länger theologisch interpretiert, als rationales, von Gott entworfenes System höchster Vernunft, zum Nutzen des Menschen erdacht und nur von menschlicher Vernunft zu begreifen, sie ist vielmehr alldurchdringender Geist, irrationale alles umfassende Kraft, deren höchstes Attribut das Schöpferische ist. Mit dieser Natur, und das heisst im Grunde mit sich selbst als Naturwesen im Einklang zu leben ist die Aufgabe des Menschen; gut sein heisst natürlich sein; nichts ist böse an sich; nur wo Natur verneint wird, entsteht das Böse,—eine Auffassung ethischer Prinzipien, die sehr weit jenseits der orthodoxen christlichen Begriffe von gut und böse steht. Mit der Natur hat der Dichter das Schöpferische gemein: Vitalität, Stärke, Echtheit, Tiefe, Ursprünglichkeit, organische Ganzheit werden die entscheidenden Kriterien des Kunstwerks.

Die Verfasserin erhebt in ihrer im einzelnen kenntnisreichen und wohl dokumentierten Arbeit nicht den Anspruch, ein umfassendes Bild der ganzen Sturm und Drang-Bewegung zu zeichnen; Hamann, Heinse und der junge Schiller fehlen, Herder wird nur gestreift, und obwohl Lenz und Klinger und natürlich auch Goethe ausführlicher herangezogen werden, liegt der eigentliche Schwerpunkt der Untersuchung auf den Mitgliedern des Göttinger Hains und den ihnen nahestehenden Dichtern, also auf Bürger, Claudius, Höltý, Miller, Voss und Stolberg. Dies hat zur Folge, dass eine Naturpoesie in den Vordergrund der Betrachtung rückt, deren Wesen sich im Ländlich-Idyllischen erschöpft. Die Verfasserin betont zwar, dass der Primitivismus der Sturm- und Drangdichtung im Unterschied von dem anderer Zeiten weder ein "negativer" noch ein "chronologischer" sondern ein "psychologischer" sei, das heisst, es komme den Stürmern und Drängern nicht so sehr auf Kritik an ihrer Epoche an, noch auch auf Rückkehr zu irgendwelchen idealisierten menschheitlichen Urzuständen, sondern viel mehr auf eine "Rückkehr nach innen," das heisst auf unpolemische Darstellung starken, originellen, einheitlichen und gesunden, mit einem Wort "natürlichen" Menschentums. Man wird dem nicht so ganz beistimmen können. Das "Lob des Landlebens," das "Baurenglück," die "Schnitteridyllen," mit denen Miller, Voss und Höltý ihre Leser erfreuten, sind nicht ganz so echt, nicht so ganz "Natur," wie sie den Zeitgenossen erschienen; es sind sentimentalische Dichtungen, die, auch wo dies nicht ausgesprochen wird, vom Gegensatz zur Stadt und der in ihr begriffenen "Unnatur" leben. Wie künstlich diese ganze Welt ist, wird an einem Werk wie Stolbergs *Insel* besonders klar; umgekehrt aber zeigen gerade die grossen Leistungen der Epoche, der *Werther*, der *Uraufst*, die *Räuber*, ja selbst noch die *Soldaten*, wie krisenhaft und bis in welche Tiefen das Lebensgefühl der Zeit erschüttert ist. Und da wo der Verderbtheit von Hof und Stadt der gesunde und redliche

Naturmensch entgegengestellt wird, im *Götz von Berlichingen* nämlich, wird doch die Vergeblichkeit und historische Ueberholtheit solcher Existenz tragisch unter Beweis gestellt.

BERNHARD BLUME

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Die Wiederkunft des Dionysos; der naturmystische Irrationalismus in Deutschland von J. H. W. ROSTEUTSCHER (Bern: A. Francke A. G. Verlag, 1947). 266 pp.

The present volume investigates a certain trend in Western literature extending from the late eighteenth century to the present time—a trend which is peculiarly noticeable in German literature and is aptly designated in Nietzschean terminology as “Dionysian.” The existence of this trend is firmly demonstrated by the author, who, however, regards it from the grotesquely inadequate standpoint of the rationalistic Enlightenment. For his demonstration, albeit by the anthological method, the reader will be grateful; for a point of view which gravely treats some of the greatest works of German lyricism as products of mental aberration, there is no response possible except unrestrained hilarity.

The ancient error of identifying anti-rationalism with irrationalism is repeated in the first forty-seven pages of the book—as though no logical system other than that of the progressivistic post-Wolfians were at all possible. This “irrationalism” is then examined by the questionable psychiatries of Müller-Eichbaum, and relations between it and the psychology of mobs are tenuously drawn by dint of quotations from Le Bon and Freud. A sketchy treatment of “Geistesgeschichtliche Hintergründe des naturmystischen Irrationalismus” lays, as usual, a good deal of the blame on Rousseau, ignoring the whole bibliography on primitivism. Hamann and Herder receive scant mention, but Goethe is quoted freely and located among the “irrationalists” and “Naturmystiker.” (By the way, there is no such thing as “Naturmystik.” One might as well refer to “Allmystik.”) In view of the first chapter we are to conclude, presumably, that both Goethe and Sigmund Freud are alike in their need for a psychiatric consultation at Müller-Eichbaum’s clinic, along with Schopenhauer and Hölderlin.

The second part of the work now deals with the “Jünger des Dionysos”: Hölderlin, Novalis, Schopenhauer, Wagner, Bachofen, Nietzsche, Freud, Hauptmann, George, Rilke, Klages, and Thomas Mann. In this connection it is noteworthy that Nietzsche is examined according to his own conception of the “Dionysian,” and Freud, who serves as an authority in the first part, becomes the subject of investigation in the second. This is confusing, but the

confusion is twice confounded through the absence of any distinction between lyrical language and scientific language. Thus, the author finds it possible to examine a poem of Hölderlin or Rilke and a treatise of Bachofen or Freud with exactly the same critical tools. Generations of critics and epistemologists seem to have lived in vain; Herder might just as well have never written his fundamental works on criticism, in which the distinction between "Poe-tische Sprache" and "Philosophische Sprache" was made clear enough even for such solid defenders of traditional logic as Friedrich Nicolai, Moses Mendelssohn, and the great Lessing.

The chapter on Schopenhauer stands out as an excellently written piece of work. The same can be said of the chapter on Freud. In both cases Rosteutscher's digests of an immense amount of seldom-read material can be used with great profit. The chapter on Klages is interesting, but too short to do justice to an important Dionysian of the twentieth century. The chapter on Rilke misses the point entirely, and that on Thomas Mann ignores the works for which Mann is famous and quotes merely from an obscure essay. One gathers that the author of *Die Wiederkunft des Dionysos* is at his best when he examines something to which rationalistic procedure is applicable, namely, to systematic philosophy, which is intended to be informative and not dynamic. Certainly, the possible literary relations—e. g. between Hölderlin and Rilke, Hölderlin and Nietzsche, Nietzsche and Rilke, Schopenhauer and Rilke, Nietzsche and Thomas Mann—are completely ignored, although there is a considerable bibliography on some of these points.

The book is clearly written, in pure style, marred only by repetitions of the phrase from Goethe's *Selige Sehnsucht*, "Stirb und werde!" This the author seems to consider specifically Dionysian, although many doubts as to its applicability at once arise. The simple fact is that the method used in this book is inadequate for the explanation or criticism of lyric poetry.

ROBERT T. CLARK, JR.

The University of Texas

The Language of Tragedy. By MOODY PRIOR. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1947. Pp. viii + 411. \$5.00.

This book exhibits in rare combination analytical power and imagination. Although cast in the pattern of historical survey, it is primarily a critical study of representative verse tragedies, English and American, from *Gorboduc* to the present. Animated by the hope that it may again some day be possible to write great tragedy in verse, Mr. Prior has set himself the task of establishing the relationship between the language of verse plays and the drama-

tic nature of the form. His central thesis is that in successful verse tragedy the poetry cannot be isolated: it is integrally related to the pattern of action and characterization which shapes the whole. "Artistic success in the use of verse in tragedy . . . is contingent on an essential formal relationship between a diction poetically conceived and ordered and the dramatic character of the work."

Mr. Prior is at his best in applying this principle to the Elizabethans. Here he establishes historical relationships and critical judgments with impressive originality. Analysis of the relationship between the verse of *Tamburlaine* and *The Spanish Tragedy* and the larger patterns of the two plays enables Mr. Prior to view afresh our somewhat jaded conception of their value as pioneering endeavors. With them "English tragedy had been clearly started in the direction of its artistic destiny—toward that final integration of proper means to proper ends without which no art can realize its possibilities." The betrayal by Beaumont and Fletcher of the more exacting elements in the Elizabethan tradition is clarified by his careful analysis of *The Maid's Tragedy*. "Poetry is here an adjunct of the brilliant moment." Mr. Prior's critical approach is somewhat akin to that of Caroline Spurgeon and G. Wilson Knight, but he is quite distinct from them in his insistence upon studying imagery as an integral part of the total dramatic effect. Thus he is enabled to view with original insight the two Shakespearian plays he analyzes, *Romeo and Juliet* and *King Lear*, and to celebrate them for achieving an "intimate relationship between the principal lines of development in the diction and imagery and the organizational scheme of the whole play." Post Elizabethan plays he surveys in the same fashion but naturally with less admiration.

In view of the fact that Mr. Prior disclaims any attempt to answer all the questions his subject raises, it is perhaps captious to observe that his emphasis on one type of approach tends to minimize other aspects of the problem. Granting the validity and original force of his contention that the artistically successful play exhibits a style inseparable from its context of thought and action, the fact remains that this principle is only a partial criterion. In terms merely of the harmony of its constituent elements Galsworthy's *Silver Box*, for example, is at least as good a play as *Romeo and Juliet*. Any complete judgment demands that we ask further on what imaginative level this harmony is to be effected. And this is a problem to which Mr. Prior's approach provides no answer. Nor does his approach more than partially explain the inferiority of verse tragedy since the days of the Elizabethans. This decline would seem to be due to a variety of factors, chief among which is one that plainly disturbs Mr. Prior himself in his concluding pages: the tendency of prose with its more literal reading of life to take over the functions of poetry. Mr. Prior is obviously aware of these matters, but one mentions them here because his merely

incidental recognition of them creates the effect of a slightly blurred focus on the problem as a whole.

The Language of Tragedy is reasoned with an ingenuity and deftness that evoke admiration. Mr. Prior writes incisively. Of Browning's obscurity, for example, he observes, "Prospecting is worth the pains for gold and diamonds, but hardly for a common brick or two." Occasionally, however, the weight of his argument seduces him into an overweighted style. Now and then an excess of phrases like "manipulation of the linguistic environment" makes for somewhat heavy reading.

Mr. Prior concludes on a note of muted hope. Regarding recent writers of verse drama he says, "In their plays they have given some evidence that perhaps we have been overhasty in concluding that a poetic drama can never again make its appearance—in a form which we cannot foresee, but which will be suitable to its theatre and to its time." To the realization of that hope, his own book, so vigorously insistent on the integrity of the drama, makes a very substantial contribution.

FRED S. TUPPER

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First Follow Nature: Primitivism in English Poetry, 1725-1750.

By MARGARET M. FITZGERALD. New York: King's Crown Press, 1947. Pp. x + 270. \$3.50.

Miss Fitzgerald offers her study as one of the "special monographs on particular episodes" in the history of primitivistic ideas" for which Professors Boas and Lovejoy called in 1935. She intends to examine the "wider implications" of primitivism in terms of a great mass of poetry produced from 1725 to 1750 and to describe "the climate of opinion in which the poets great and small composed their verses." Her intentions are thus clearly and precisely defined. But the realization of them is disappointingly blurred and inadequate.

In the first part of her study Miss Fitzgerald breaks down her poems into their ideological components and arranges the bits of verse thus derived into primitivistic groups and sub-groups: Chronological Primitivism (Eden, the patriarchal age, the classical past, the English past, the present condemned in terms of a golden past); and Cultural Primitivism (the noble savage, tropical v. arctic simplicity, the pastoral life, etc.). Then she notes—but it would seem not carefully enough—Professor Lovejoy's statement that "the history of primitivism is in part a phase of a larger historic tendency . . . —the use of the term 'nature' to express the standard of human values, the identification of the good with that

which is 'natural' or 'according to nature,'" And she proceeds to the second part of her study, which she calls "Vivere Secundum Naturam," in which she searches out poetic versions of the "natural" in philosophy, esthetics, and ethics. Here the focus of the study gets hazy. For we move, in effect, from the primitive to the natural when we know (*vide* Professor Lovejoy, above) that logically we should move in the other direction; the effect of Miss Fitzgerald's exposition is to obscure the fact that the natural subsumes the primitive. At the end, the study is brought back into only partial focus with a hasty survey of primitivistic ideas in the poetry of Pope, Thomson, Gray, Young, Akenside, and the Wartons.

If the exposition of *First Follow Nature* tends to be thus imprecise, the meaning of the study tends to be more so both for the history of primitivism and, here more important, for the history of eighteenth-century literature. In the first place, the study becomes only by title and sub-title, not by content, a contribution to the history of primitivism. For the natural is not necessarily the primitive, is often necessarily the anti-primitive; "following nature" might well lead the Augustan from his primitive to his civilized self. Moreover, Miss Fitzgerald often does not clearly define such positive relationships between the natural and the primitive as her researches have made evident; so obvious a case as Pope's "poor Indian" verses she treats under Cultural Primitivism and fails to mention in her discussion of Pope and "natural ethics." This is to say in general that in the "Vivere Secundum Naturam" section Miss Fitzgerald takes us into areas for the study of which her initial concern with explicitly primitivistic ideas has not prepared us.

In the second place, Miss Fitzgerald's practice of chopping up poems to make them yield their primitivistic content tends to make her book ineffective as literary history. We are seldom given a whole poem—or a whole context. Hence, since a poem has meaning in its milieu and is part of literary history as it is a whole poem, we learn little of primitivistic ideas as the poet "used" and so evaluated them, little of specifically literary developments. Further, one is surprised that Miss Fitzgerald neither mentions nor gives evidence of having made use of the work of several of her predecessors—Havens, Bissell, and Lesher, for example; she does not even make full use of the work of McKillop, which she does mention.

But most serious of all is Miss Fitzgerald's failure to give us a sense of the cultural texture, of the complex reality, which makes for a climate of opinion. She has been little concerned with the vital problem of movement of ideas, even of literary ideas, in a given cultural situation. When occasionally she does sketch in a socio-economic background against which to set her documents, it is only to discover that poetic yearnings for a simpler life somehow

belie the conditions of actual lives actually lived from 1725 to 1750. The precise interaction between primitivistic yearnings and socio-economic actuality goes unexamined. Yet that is just what a description of a climate of opinion would seem to call for. Here, it is as though Miss Fitzgerald had simply told us that the climate of opinion was balmy and civilized, with a few shifting primitivistic breezes. And, as she herself says, we had already known this. We should like to know much more; Miss Fitzgerald promises much more.

Taken all in all, *First Follow Nature* may be valued mainly as preliminary notes towards a history of primitivistic ideas in Augustan Poetry.

ROY HARVEY PEARCE

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Mr. Review: Daniel Defoe as Author of "The Review." By WILLIAM LYTTON PAYNE. New York: King's Crown Press, 1947. Pp. iv + 147. \$2.25.

With commendable enthusiasm Dr. William L. Payne has classified the "matter of the three million words" of Defoe's *Review* in an index listing 30,000 items. The need for an index was felt when the 1938 edition of the *Review* was being prepared. This one will be printed by the Columbia University Press, presumably in the format of the twenty two books of the 1938 text. A by-product of the index is the present volume, *Mr. Review*, a summary of what the *Review* says of its author. Much interesting information is presented under the five chapter headings: Self-Portrait, Author, Journalist, Economist, and Counsellor and Guide. In the last chapter, Dr. Payne, amplifying suggestions in my Introduction to the *Review*, points out anticipations of incidents and characters in Defoe's novels.

All this may be helpful to future students. And that is the justification for the book. Dr. Payne doubtless feels that the information he has on tap from the index should be published while it is fresh in his mind. He has thereby been saved the time necessary to a survey of previous Defoe scholarship and to research in the complicated problems presented below. The result is a study fuller than my Introduction but not so full as to thwart an adequate analysis.

Dr. Payne intends to lay the fear that there are in the *Review* "undiscovered nuggets of autobiography." He seems unaware, however, that the biographical information yet to be squeezed from the *Review* will come less from specific statements of Defoe about

himself than from the solution of numerous problems which Dr. Payne ignores.

Mr. T. F. M. Newton, Professor Sutherland, and I have discussed the implications of the issues of 28 April and 5 May, 1713, for Defoe's release from prison. Dr. Payne refers to Defoe's imprisonment; but the only passage he cites relating to it, that from the *Review* of 7 May, 1713, is to show Defoe's solicitude for his family. Farther down on the same page Dr. Payne might have found another problem which, I believe, Defoe biographers and bibliographers have not considered. Defoe there denies a malicious report in the press that the trouble "I have been lately in" was for writing an insolent libel called *The Ambassadresses Speech*. What lies back of that remark? Similar problems which the *Review* may help solve are Defoe's relations with Mrs. Anderson, his Edinburgh agent and printer; with John Matthews, John Baker, John Morphew, and other London printers and booksellers; with fellow journalists, like Leslie, Tutchin, and Ridpath; and with the Sacheverell trial, the union of England and Scotland, and the treaty of Utrecht.

Dr. Payne analyzes the economic theories of the *Review* without reference to Professor J. R. Moore's book on the subject, and the impact of *A Tale of a Tub* upon Defoe without awareness of Professor John R. Ross's previous (though not overlapping) consideration of it in his *Swift and Defoe*. The titles of *A Tale of a Tub* (p. 5) and *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (pp. 10, 13) are given incorrectly. It is misleading to call Defoe the editor of *Mercator*, as Dr. Payne does (p. 72). And he has misread Defoe's discussion of bad husbands (p. 108, note 102); Roxana's first was not the extravagant husband but the fool.

ARTHUR W. SECORD

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Smollett's Reputation as a Novelist. By FRED W. BOEGE. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947. Pp. 175. \$3.00. (Princeton Studies in English, No. 27).

Mr. Boege's book traces the course of Smollett's reputation from the publication of *Roderick Random* to the year 1940. Published materials in great variety—magazines, diaries, letters, memoirs—have been ransacked to produce a survey full of illuminating facts. Being practically a cento of quotations, the book is hardly designed for consecutive reading, but it makes a useful contribution to the history of literary taste and sensibility. Mr. Boege finds that Smollett's reputation rose steadily in the last three decades of the eighteenth century, with the result that he seems to

have become a formidable rival of Fielding. Blanchard's assertion that Richardson was the more formidable rival of Fielding toward the end of the century is shown to be highly questionable. The climax of Smollett's prestige came in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, when he appears to have been greatly admired by all the chief Romantic writers, except Shelley.

But at the same time the germs of decay were there. The popularity of Scott, followed by the deluge of Dickens, overwhelmed the works of Smollett, despite the high praise these later writers gave the man who helped them learn their craft. Soon, Victorian sensibility put Smollett on "the highest shelf of the bookcase," beyond the reach of wives and offspring. "As a novelist," wrote one critic about the middle of the century, "Smollett's reputation, once very high, is growing less every year with the best portion of the reading world, and must continue to do so as a love of moral purity shall continue to increase." The twentieth century has revived the sinner to some extent, but, except for one brief and suspicious spurt in the notorious "twenties," this revival has been largely the work of academics. And even among these, according to Mr. Boege, "one finishes with the strong impression that this is not a respected or beloved author"; there is no good biography, and no definitive edition of his works.

Yet Mr. Boege's conclusion seems unnecessarily bleak. Mr. Knapp has long been engaged in the preparation of a full, scholarly life of Smollett, which is now, I believe, in its final manuscript form. There seems to be a warm appreciation of Smollett on many college campuses, and the years since 1940 have seen a considerable output of books and articles dealing with many aspects of Smollett's life and works. One wonders why Mr. Boege stands on his line of 1940 and speculates on what "another decade" may produce.

A few omissions should be noted. In discussing the edition of Smollett's works with an Introduction by Henley (1899-1901), Mr. Boege neglects the fact that the last two volumes of this edition, the *Travels* and *Miscellanies*, were carefully edited, with important comments, by Thomas Seccombe—the first scholarly treatment of Smollett's works. One should also notice Seccombe's important essay on the *Travels* in the *Cornhill Magazine* (n. s. xi, 1901). But such omissions are inevitable in a work of this kind. One is grateful to Mr. Boege for giving us this succinct and informative compilation.

LOUIS L. MARTZ

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Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and Its Influence on Morals and Happiness. By WILLIAM GODWIN. Edited by F. E. L. PRIESTLEY. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946. 3 Vols: lvi + 463, ix + 554, 346. \$12.50. (U. of Toronto, Dept. of English, Studies and Texts, No. 2.)

It is refreshing to read a work about Godwin in which he appears in his true light as an eclectic philosopher, not as a gifted and original intellectual freak. Commonly *Political Justice* is viewed as merely a plinth or fundamental block, upholding a delicate and incense-enveloped temple of Shelleyan ideas; Mr. Priestley corrects this fallacious view by revealing *Political Justice* as a finished structure in itself, a noble edifice solidly constructed out of nearly every building material found in eighteenth-century philosophy. He gives an account not only of the conceptual patterns which Godwin followed, but of others which he discarded as unfitted for his philosophical structure. The first two volumes of this handsome edition comprise the text in photographic facsimile, and the third volume contains a critical introduction, notes and variant readings. The commentary includes sections on metaphysics, and on moral, political, and economic thought. Throughout the entire commentary, Godwin is considered as primarily a moralist, and the specific section on ethical thought leaves the reader with the feeling that everything essential has been said. Other sections leave some questions unanswered, however, and more material on the background of the social contract theory and the relations of Godwin to Mandeville and Hume would be welcome.

A large number of those who do not view Godwin merely as a mentor of Shelley customarily regard him as an economist. For these persons, Priestley points out that Godwin's approach is not the economic one, but that of moral philosophy. In aim Godwin resembles modern socialists, but extremists of either right or left would get scant comfort from the peculiar quality of his socialism. Relying fully on the possibility of the moral reform of man's ignorance and selfishness, Godwin is opposed to reform by positive institution. Yet his prescriptions would hardly fit modern advocates of "free" or protected enterprise, for he is willing to remove laws and institutions which aggravate or perpetuate inequality. Godwin's ideal political state is anarchism, a condition of freedom from governmental institutions in which reason is law, the happy status of Swift's Houyhnhnms. Priestley sees contemporary significance in Godwin's antitotalitarianism, a view of society as a general association preserving to the full the rights of dissenting minorities.

The highly-publicized sections of Godwin's treatise, such as his appendix on cooperation and marriage, have in the past been so greatly overemphasized that his primary doctrine has been mis-

understood. Priestley points out that this appendix in particular is only an appendage of hints and conjectures and has no bearing on the soundness or unsoundness of his main arguments. The penetrating discussions of Godwin's revisions correct a similar false impression that the later editions were a toning down or adulterating of radical passages and that consequently the first edition has the purest text. Priestley shows that the third edition best represents the essential spirit of Godwinism, and it is this text which is reprinted. The variant readings of the first and second editions are given for comparison. The last section of the commentary is a study of the influence of *Political Justice*, unfortunately brief, but valuable in exposing such fallacies as ascribing to Godwin a strong influence on Wordsworth.

A reprint of *Political Justice* has long been needed. The present edition not only fully meets the need, but produces in addition a sound and perceptive commentary on Godwin's intellectual milieu.

A. O. ALDRIDGE

University of Maryland

John Bull's Letter to Lord Byron. Edited by ALAN LANG STROUT. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1947. Pp. xiii + 170. \$3.00.

Nearly a quarter of a century ago the present reviewer commended *A Letter to the Right. Hon. Lord Byron. By John Bull* (1821) as "by far the most interesting of all contemporary bits of *Byroniana*," and "the only one which, I believe, is worth reprinting." After summarizing the contents of this pamphlet I concluded with the remark that "John Bull," alone among the critics of Byron during the poet's life-time, seems to fulfil Oliver Elton's requirement of an "alert and mischievous sympathy, crossed with protest" which Byron's satires demand.¹ In a footnote I called attention to Ernest Hartley Coleridge's copy of the *Letter*, now in the British Museum, which has pasted in it a letter, with the signature clipped off, speculating upon the authorship. The arguments therein given—the knowledge of Edinburgh and of Scottish literature; the knowledge of German; and the good command of the classics—led to the suggestion that John Black, of the staff of *The Morning Chronicle*, may have been the author. I thought that Coleridge's correspondent may have been Richard Garnett, who had contributed a note on the *Letter to The Athenaeum* (1903, p. 304) arriving at the same conclusion from the same, and similar, evidence. I was not myself convinced and in my bibliography I en-

¹ S. C. Chew, *Byron in England* (London, Murray, 1924), pp. 39-41.

tered the item under Black's name with a question-mark. Professor Strout does not understand this footnote and seems to think that the arguments for Black's authorship were mine, whereas I was merely summarizing the contents of the letter addressed to E. H. Coleridge. The matter is of small importance but had best be cleared up for the sake of the record.

It is of small importance because Professor Strout has discovered evidence establishing beyond any doubt that the author of the pamphlet was John Gibson Lockhart. This is proved by seven letters which passed between Lockhart and John Wilson Croker (six in the W. L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan; one in the National Library of Scotland) with an additional confirmatory letter from Croker to John Murray (in the Clements Library). All this correspondence is now published for the first time.

Professor Strout reprints the "John Bull" *Letter* with great care and annotates it fully. He has, moreover, supplied an elaborate apparatus of introduction and appendices. Parts of the introduction go over well-trodden ground, as when he narrates the early history of the *Edinburgh*, the *Quarterly*, and *Blackwood's*. In a valuable appendix all the contemporary allusions to Byron in *Blackwood's* are gathered together and summarized. Another appendix discusses Byron's possible indebtedness to *Faublas*, which "John Bull" hints at. A third appendix contains a letter from Southeby to Hogg which has nothing to do with Byron, and a letter from Lockhart to William Maginn reproving him for planning to "run down" Byron and suggesting that an entire instalment of the "Noctes Ambrosianae" be devoted to the poet's memory. This letter is undated but belongs to the late spring or early summer of 1824. It is of some interest not only as a hitherto unprinted bit of Byroniana but as showing how the authors of the "Noctes" were wont to consult together.

This volume, charming in format and typography and interestingly illustrated, is a credit to the University of Oklahoma Press.

SAMUEL C. CHEW

Bryn Mawr College

The Nascent Mind of Shelley. By A. M. D. HUGHES. Oxford:
At the Clarendon Press, 1947. Pp. vii + 272. \$5.00.

The author's purpose in *The Nascent Mind of Shelley* is "to demonstrate the high degree of continuity in Shelley's main ideas and the relevance to his poetry of their worth and weight." His method is to devote 182 pages to a narration of Shelley's life up to April 5, 1813, and 81 pages to an analysis of Shelley's thought. The biographical narrative does not pretend to completeness or to originality, claiming only a re-examination of the source materials and a

liberal use of more extensive biographical works by Ingpen, Peck, and Newman White, and a fuller emphasis upon the origin of Shelley's ideas and upon his compositions through *Queen Mab*, in which virtually all his early thoughts are garnered.

Mr. Hughes's performance is not strictly in accordance with his announced plan. Though he does give more space proportionally to Shelley's early writings than do most of the biographers, he is inevitably preoccupied mainly with biography instead of thought, and he is forced to attempt to establish some new or generally unaccepted biographical views, the most labored and unsatisfactory being his notion of the great importance of Shelley's love for Harriet Grove. His earnestness in this matter leads him to throw caution to the winds and to state positively (p. 62 n) that "Harriet Grove is clearly meant . . . in line 271 of *Epipsychedion*: 'And One was true—oh! why not true to me?'" Though many of his inferences and reconstructions are questionable, his narrative is on the whole fresh and stimulating, and not infrequently produces instantaneous assent. The place of Miss Hinchener in Shelley's life, and the gradual realization of Harriet Westbrook's deficiencies are expounded with admirable insight. The halfway stage is marked by this striking sentence (p. 145): "He was trying to run two loves at once, no mind in the one and no body in the other, and to fend from his consciousness the inference that if both were wanted neither would suffice." It should also be said that there is new information about Eton in Shelley's day and an excellent account of the various reports of Shelley's radical activities received by the government in 1812.

In the last six brief chapters Mr. Hughes attempts a résumé of Shelley's thought under the headings: "Minor Poems and *Queen Mab*," "Shelley and Godwin," "The Rights of Women and the Law of Marriage," "Shelley and the Age," "God and Nature and Man," "The Sequel." Here there is no effort to restrict the treatment to Shelley's "nascent mind"; the full range of his ideas from youth to death is attempted. Though the result is stimulating, it is often confusing, both because of the difficulty in understanding Mr. Hughes's explanations, and because the brief account of Shelley's opinions on some topics does not take into account either the inconsistencies in Shelley's philosophy or the changes he made in it from time to time. Mr. Hughes constantly warns us that these inconsistencies and changes exist; but these warnings are of little help in particular instances. The analyses of the influence of Godwin, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Lawrence's *The Empire of the Nairs* are especially good, but it is to be regretted that so little is made of Locke's theory of ideas, which Shelley never discarded but combined with Platonism, and of the powerful influence of Wordsworth in 1815-16.

A few trivial errors may be pointed out, without any intention of

indicating extensive incorrectness or carelessness. In note 2, p. 29, "Grove" is misprinted "Groves." In note 1, p. 111, "pp. 348, 349" should be "pp. 341-43." On p. 46 Mary Shelley's death should be given as 1851, not 1852. It is extremely doubtful that *Alastor* gives an account of the "first coming" of love to Shelley: "How its first coming and departing shone and loomed in his memory we know from *Alastor* . . ." (p. 61). In the following for "wrote" read "printed": "They spent a few days quietly [in Dublin], while Shelley wrote his *Address*" (p. 134). The text of *Queen Mab* does not justify the statement (p. 186) that "the spirit of Ianthe . . . is rapt from the body as it lies sleeping *in her lover's gaze* [italics mine]." The lover Henry saw Ianthe awake, but he was not necessarily present during the whole period of her slumber.

The frequent neglect of scholarly books, and especially articles, although a defect, is paradoxically one of the causes of the principal excellency of the book. The reader feels confident on every page that the author is not repeating what others have written, but that he has examined the subject afresh and is admitting only that which he thinks is or may well be true. The book neither exposes the "nascent" nor the mature mind of Shelley, but it does afford many brilliant flashes of light.

FREDERICK L. JONES

University of Pennsylvania

Shelley and the Thought of His Time: A Study in the History of Ideas. By JOSEPH BARRELL. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947. Pp. viii + 210. \$3.00. (Yale Studies in English, 106.)

Dr. Barrell has here studied Shelley's relation to two phases of thought in the early nineteenth century: the French survival and the Greek revival. As far as the radical enthusiast Shelley was concerned, the first of these centered in the *Weltanschauung* of necessitarian materialists like Baron d'Holbach, whose *Système* influenced the thought of Godwin and had consequent repercussions in the writing and thinking of Godwin's youthful worshipper. *Queen Mab* shows clearly the powerful effect of "Godwinism" in Shelley's early thought, and the author analyses that odd gallimaufry-poem with particular attention to its ideological content. He then carefully relates Shelleyan "Platonism" to the general revival of interest in Hellenic matters, and brings his attention to focus in detailed considerations of the 1816 hymns, *Prometheus Unbound*, *Epipsychedion*, *Adonais*, and *Hellas*. Introductory material and concluding summary aside, the core of the book consists of

four chapters: the two analytical chapters on the poetry and two others which seek to present in a systematic fashion the eighteenth-century background so far as it bears on and helps to illuminate *Queen Mab*, and the Hellenic revivals of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment in their relations to that early nineteenth-century revival in which Shelley was a prominent participant.

Dr. Barrell's chief contribution to the understanding of Shelley is the chapter called "Shelley and the Thought of the Greeks." While the pages devoted to the history of ideas offer succinct reviews of intellectual tendencies in the Enlightenment, they are admittedly derivative. The consideration of *Queen Mab* and its ideological background adds little except historical perspective to what has long been known and often said of that poem—particularly since the author has not chosen to explore its native literary ancestry. Indeed, though his treatment of the history of ideas everywhere proves the keen intelligence, the breadth of philosophic information, and the expressive skill of the author, the reader is often troubled by the discursiveness and the polyhedral nature of the argument as laid down and resumed among the multiple subdivisions of the book. But Dr. Barrell's reading of *Prometheus Unbound*, *Epipsychedion*, *Adonais*, and *Hellas* as philosophic poems is in many ways the most careful and precise examination of Shelley's entry into and withdrawal from the Platonic world-view which has yet appeared. One therefore wishes that the author had chosen to expand this section of the book from within and to take much of the remaining material out of range. He might then have been able to demonstrate the internal logical progression which took place in Shelley's thought between 1813-1819; he could have taken into account Shelley's reading in Greek literature outside Plato; the pervasive Dantean influence in the poems of 1821-1822 could have been observed and recorded, so that the exclusively Platonic emphasis could have been corrected. This is the kind of approach to Shelley that the facts of his development warrant and invite. Dr. Barrell has taken a useful and careful step in the right direction.

CARLOS BAKER

Princeton University

Mary Shelley's Journal. Edited by FREDERICK L. JONES. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1947. Pp. xxi + 257. \$4.00.

Shelley scholars have long wished that Mary Shelley's diary were more accessible. It could be found complete only in the twelve printed copies and the Library of Congress rotogravure of the privately issued *Shelley and Mary*. Now, with Professor Jones's edition of the journal, every Shelley student may have on his desk this important biographical document, with the added advantage of informative notes, useful appendices, and a full index.

The reader of Mary's journal must not expect too much. Most of its resources have already been tapped by biographers and critics. Mr. Jones has added a fact or two and made one or two corrections of previous statements—none, however, of great importance. There are no startling revelations. With few exceptions the entries are laconic and factual. Mary was not only a cautious but also a reserved diarist: almost never until after Shelley's death did she comment on—sometimes she did not even record—the events which most moved her. But if the journal offers nothing sensational and little that is new, an edition of it is welcome not only to scholars but also to anyone interested in discovering at first hand what the Shelleys did from day to day, whom they met, what they read.

Mr. Jones was probably wise not to delay publication until the present owner of the manuscript journal was willing to release it for his use. Yet he must surely regret that he did not have the satisfaction of going to the source. It may well be true that the *Shelley and Mary* text is virtually complete and that omissions are unimportant. Whether it is also accurate enough to satisfy us all is another question. Dowden and Miss Grylls, whose testimony Mr. Jones accepts for the reliability of the text since they had access to the Shelley manuscripts, have both perpetuated some of the mistaken *Shelley and Mary* readings in letters which can now be examined in the Bodleian Library.

Most of the obvious errors in the journal entries Mr. Jones has corrected.

It is surprising, therefore, that he has not changed the spelling of Trelawny's name or emended the obviously impossible Greek in an entry by Shelley (Jan. 29, 1815). His understanding of French should have shown him that Carnot's "Memorial" (Oct. 31, 1814) is not an error for Carnot's "Mémoire," but a translation.

The notes identify most of the books Shelley and Mary read and the persons Mary mentioned. An occasional tentative identification, like that of Novello (Sept. 3, 1824), seems questionable. Several quotations, one a fragment by Shelley, are unassigned. Some cryptic initials still tantalize the student. Mr. Jones does not explain "S. T. goes on ill" (Nov. 4, 1820). Is Mary not speaking of the misfortunes of *Swellfoot the Tyrant* in printed form? Is "C. A." (Dec. 3, 1821) an error, as Mr. Jones says, for C. W. (*Caleb Williams*) or for an abbreviation of *Castruccio*, the novel which Mary had just completed?

These failures to go far enough in emendation or identification, however, are minor flaws in an otherwise well edited, handsomely printed book, a good desk companion to the two volumes of Mary's letters previously edited by the same scholar.

ELIZABETH NITCHIE

Goucher College

Wordsworthian Criticism, a Guide and Bibliography. By JAMES VENABLE LOGAN. Columbus: The Ohio State University, 1947. Pp. xii + 304. (Graduate School Monographs, English series, 4.)

The second part of this useful volume consists of a bibliography of editions, biographies, and criticisms of Wordsworth through 1944—six hundred and sixty-one items with descriptions of each and, for “prominent or recent books,” a list of reviews. The hundred and fifty pages which precede the bibliography are devoted to an historical survey of these Wordsworthian studies, examining important works in detail and pointing out developments and general tendencies. It is to be hoped that someone will follow the path here marked out to show how the tastes, interests, and sense of values of successive periods are revealed in what each emphasized, ignored, and praised in the poetry of Wordsworth.

“The Appearance of Specialized Research” is dated from the founding of the Wordsworth Society in 1880, although no evidence of the Society’s influence is presented. The author is on firmer ground when he emphasizes the significance of Legouis’ *Jeunesse de W. W.* (1896), for it is the discovery of *The Prelude* and the resultant importance attached to its author’s thought that distinguishes twentieth-century Wordsworth studies. Mr. Logan is conservative and cautious: he seldom ventures an adverse comment or ignores a negligible book. He might well have devoted more space to Bradley and Garrod, less to Brooke and Beatty, although including Beatty’s curious selection, *Representative Poems* (1937). It would have been helpful if he had pointed out the different deficiencies of Grosart’s and Knight’s editions of the prose and had mentioned that all of the prefaces but one are printed with the important later additions and omissions in the second volume of De Selincourt’s edition of *The Poetical Works*. Although a recent bookseller’s catalogue lists three items that are not included: S. F. Gingerich’s *Wordsworth, a study in memory and mysticism* (1908), A. B. McMahan’s *With W. in England* (1907), and C. T. Winchester’s *W. W., how to know him* (1916); yet these titles, along with those of numerous articles, may well have been passed over intentionally. The most serious omission is probably of books, like D. G. James’ *Scepticism and Poetry* (1937), not specifically devoted to Wordsworth. It is here that we most need help, for such works are not listed under the poet’s name in most indexes, catalogues, or bibliographies. Yet Mr. Logan has given us a book which specialists as well as novices in the field will be glad to use and which his full indices have made doubly useful.

RAYMOND D. HAVENS

Longfellow and Scandinavia. A Study of the Poet's Relationship with the Northern Languages and Literature. By ANDREW HILEN. New Haven: Yale University Press, London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1947. Pp. viii, 193. Yale Studies in English, 107.

This study seems to clear up in a meritorious fashion the poet's relationship with the Scandinavian countries as well as with their languages and literatures.

After showing in an introductory chapter that Longfellow's interest in Scandinavia was first roused by Scott's works and then fanned into a flame by a Swedish poet whom Longfellow met in Italy, the author describes Longfellow's unhappy stay in Sweden and Denmark in the summer of 1835. This brief stay, in spite of its disillusionment for the seeker of Northern Romance, gave the professor and poet that reading knowledge of Swedish and Danish which was to suffice for the rest of his life.

In the third chapter the author discusses "the extent of Longfellow's concern for Swedish culture," finding it rather shallow and onesidedly turned towards the romantic aspects of it. The fourth chapter discusses Longfellow and Tegnér, whom Longfellow considered the only great Swedish poet. Longfellow introduced Tegnér to America in a notable review of *Frithjof's Saga* with specimens of the poetry which Tegnér considered the best translations in existence at that time.

In this review Longfellow "questioned the wisdom of composing the ballads in different metres" but Mr. Hilen points out that he followed the same plan in his *Saga of King Olaf*. Says Mr. Hilen: "This tradition began in Scandinavian poetry with Oehlenschlaeger's *Helge*," but he does not mention that it was inspired by the Icelandic *rimur*, which for centuries had perpetuated the custom.

In two more chapters the author discusses Longfellow's relations with Danish and Icelandic literatures, noting that his knowledge of the Icelandic was slight, though he probably read *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* in the original before he wrote his ballads on the story.

After a brief conclusion, the author prints Longfellow's Swedish journal, pertinent letters, and a list of his Scandinavian library. The rest is a list of sources in MSS and print as well as an index.

STEFÁN EINARSSON

Apologia pro Vita Sua, The Idea of a University, and A Grammar of Assent, being the first three volumes of *The Works of John Henry Newman*. Edited by C. F. HARROLD. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1947.

Both the range of Newman's work, and its remarkable combination of historical and contemporary value, make an available edition, complete or substantially so, almost a necessity. It was therefore essential, when the unsold copies of *The Collected Works of Cardinal Newman* were destroyed in the London bombings of 1940-41, that a new edition should be undertaken at the earliest possible date. Messrs. Longmans, Green and Company are to be congratulated for their prompt and on the whole adequate fulfillment of this need. Starting with the three major volumes before us, they plan to issue three or four more each year until a set of about twenty volumes is completed, which would include, I assume, a large part of the total work. They have used good print on good paper, and supplied each volume with a full index. More important, they have obtained the editorial services of perhaps the outstanding Newman scholar of our day, Professor C. F. Harrold. His brief introductions manage to isolate the essential character of each book, and to place it skilfully in relation to Newman's work as a whole. As he demonstrated in his fine study of 1945, *John Henry Newman—An Expository and Critical Study of His Mind, Thought and Art*, Professor Harrold has the rare ability to assimilate large masses of learning, sift out major from minor issues, balance conflicting arguments, and then set down the results with great lucidity of form and style.

With so much to be thankful for, it is natural, if ungenerous, to wish for more—that this were to be the definitive edition which scholars must someday have. But the volumes are without notes, which is a serious defect because modern readers have lost touch with many of the religious controversies and theological terms that Newman does not stop to explain. Furthermore, the edition is not only not going to be complete, but even the individual works are subject to curtailment. The two acknowledged principles of selection are, "Works which bid fair to stand the test of time," and those which, though primarily of historical interest, "must be read and consulted if the reader wishes to understand the many-faceted mind of the author." Of the volumes before us, the *Grammar of Assent* is complete; the *Apologia* prints the text of the second edition (1865), with appendices containing the significant portions of the first edition (Parts I and II) that were not reprinted. In *The Idea of a University*, however, one is dismayed and puzzled by the omission of Newman's essay on "University Preaching" (the other omission, "Elementary Studies, 1854-56," would not be questioned). The justification is "lack of relevancy for our time." But even granting

that to be true, which is debatable, there is no doubt that this essay is of real importance for understanding Newman's many-faceted mind; for one facet, and an important one, was the preacher, and in particular the preacher of university sermons. His work of this kind holds not only a high place in the whole literature of the pulpit, but was perhaps the medium of his greatest influence upon Victorian life and thought. Indeed, Newman said himself that "it was at Oxford, and by my Parochial Sermons, that I had influence." Of these sermons his essay on "University Preaching" is a critical commentary of great value. Since Professor Harrold is well aware of this, one can only suspect that a third and unacknowledged principle of selection, in this case exclusion, has been adopted—namely, the arbitrary limitation, fixed by the publishers, of each volume to about 400 pages. Because *The Idea of a University* had already reached 413 pages, an essay even of demonstrable significance had to be omitted. Is the same thing to occur again, and perhaps again, in the coming volumes? The present damage, at any rate, could be rectified by printing "University Preaching" as an appendix to the volume or volumes that will contain the university sermons.

WALTER E. HOUGHTON

Wellesley College

The Epigram in the English Renaissance. By HOYT HOPEWELL HUDSON. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947. Pp. x + 178. \$2.50.

This book is a mine of information for students of the more obscure poets of the sixteenth century. In it they may trace the English translations of More's Latin epigrams, William Lily's literary quarrels, the metaphysical ingenuities of Richard Willes, a manuscript of poems by the diplomat Daniel Rogers, and ten pages on a long forgotten poet named John Parkhurst. Other writers included are John Leland, Walter Haddon, Thomas Chaloner, George Buchanan, Thomas Newton, and two French epigrammatists—Nicholas Bourbon and Théodore de Bèze. The footnotes are full of useful references, all to studies published before 1932. The editors inform us that the four chapters of this book were part of the doctoral dissertation which the late Hoyt Hudson submitted in 1923 and considerably revised in 1934-1935. Unfortunately much valuable work on his subject has appeared in the intervening twelve years, and the usefulness of the present volume is necessarily limited by this fact.

From the critical point of view the treatment of More and Buchanan, the two major authors involved, is disappointing. The method is rambling and episodic, with the result that no clear picture of the peculiar genius of each man is brought out. One

wonders whether Hudson, who was a man of excellent judgment, had not become aware of this weakness and therefore withheld his work pending further reworking. The editors, nevertheless, were right in deciding to publish this fragment. It contains a wealth of detailed research which will be welcomed by all workers in the English Renaissance.

LEICESTER BRADNER

Brown University

The Satire of Jonathan Swift. By HERBERT DAVIS. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947. Pp. 109. \$2.00.

Originally delivered as lectures at Smith College, the essays which are brought together here are devoted to the three major phases of Swift's satiric art. The first essay—"Literary Satire"—is a discussion of *A Tale of a Tub* and the attitude of its youthful author. The second is concerned with the political satirist of *The Examiner* and the *Drapier's Letters*. The third and concluding essay is on *Gulliver's Travels*. Mr. Davis's tone and approach are throughout that of the lecturer who knows his business—and the limitations imposed by a general audience. It is only in matters of emphasis, shading, and the thrust of critical statement that one is occasionally prompted to take mild issue. Thus, the common-sense view, which assumes that the career, the personality, and the achievement of a great writer are more or less of a unity—a view which in the end may very well be the soundest one—does nevertheless sometimes prevent us from achieving direct insight into his art as a distinctive thing, as a mode whereby his imaginative apprehension comes to be concentrated and formed in dramatic terms. Mr. Davis's treatment of *A Tale of a Tub* is a case in point, for though he is clearly aware of the peculiarly Swiftian qualities of this great satire, he is committed to a manner of approach which makes it difficult to get to the heart of the matter. Nevertheless, the best thing about these essays—aside from the skillful marshalling of material, the critical acumen, and the pleasing style—is their insistence upon Swift as a writer. The chapter on *Gulliver's Travels*—"the final and completest satire on human life of this Christian moralist"—is a splendid recapitulation. Though there may be more in the *Travels* in the way of unifying design than Mr. Davis is ready to acknowledge, he does well to emphasize it as a parody of eighteenth-century Utopias, thus reducing to a subordinate rôle the element of political allegory, which has recently and I think erroneously been singled out as the dominant and controlling theme.

RICARDO QUINTANA

University of Wisconsin

BRIEF MENTION

Karl Lachmann als Germanist, von H. SPARNAAY. Bern: A. Francke AG. Verlag, 1948. Pp. 142. S. Fr. 11.50. Ein willkommenes Buch aus dem Heroenzeitalter der Germanistik. In der Gestalt Lachmanns ist der Augenblick erfasst, da aus einem schöngeistigen Getändel mit den Köstlichkeiten des deutschen Mittelalters ein saurer Beruf wurde mit Systematik, Statistik und philologischer Akribie. In und durch Lachmann geschieht der Übertritt der deutschen Altertumskunde aus Raunen, Schwärmen, Pfuscherei zu einer strikten Wissenschaft. Das Publikum freilich hat dabei kaum gewonnen, fühlt sich aus dem Tempel gejagt, so dass seit Lachmann die Zahl der Kenner mittelhochdeutscher Dichter geringer ist als die ihrer Werke. Kein Zweifel, dass mit Lachmann eine gewisse Verpreussung eingesetzt hat in einem Feld, das davon besonders viel zu verlieren hatte; andererseits war aus dem vagen Orakeln der Görres, Tieck, v. d. Hagen weder für Textkritik noch für Textverständnis etwas zu gewinnen. — Bleibt in jedem Falle die verehrungswürdige Grösse eines Mannes, dem es nicht gegeben war, zugleich noch glücklich zu sein. Wenn er bei einem Kollegen aus einem Fehler, den dieser macht, auf einen, den er hat, schliesst, eine Lücke im Wissen als 'unsittlich' bezeichnet, ein Versehen also einem Verbrechen gleichsetzt, so weist diese Verwechslung des Intellektuellen mit dem Moralischen auf ein gestörtes Gleichgewicht des Charakters: Pfarr- und Kadettenhaus sind hier keine glückliche Verbindung eingegangen. Schlimmer als Lachmanns oft brutale Schroffheit, hochnäsige Eigenwilligkeit, ja Eigenmächtigkeit (die er einem andern sicher nicht verziehen hätte), ist sein Banausentum, das sich z. B. im Urteil über den 'Tristan' ungeheuerlich verrät;¹ worauf dann auch mal wieder mit feinstem Ohr lyrisch-musikalische Details erfasst werden, die sich nur der höchsten Sensibilität im Ästhetischen erschliessen. Es ist ja nicht selten, dass der preussischen Gradheit im Sittlichen Zartheit im Musischen gesellt ist.

Das Buch Sparnaays spricht warm und verständnisvoll von seinem herben Helden, dokumentiert ausgiebig die Fakten und rafft dabei ein bedeutendes Material zusammen. Es wird immer wünschbarer, dass einmal Lachmanns hier und da verstreute Notizen und Anmerkungen gesammelt werden. Denn noch seinen Irrtümern liegen Ansichten zugrunde, die uns überall fördern können.

¹ "Anderes als Üppigkeit oder Gotteslästerung boten die Hauptteile seiner weichlichen unsittlichen Erzählung nicht dar." (Vorrede zur *Auswahl aus den Hochdeutschen Dichtern des 13. Jahrhunderts*. Königsberg, 1820).

An wirklichen Fehlern habe ich in Sparnaays schönem Buch nur einen gefunden, wo er den Titel 'Minnesangs Frühling' Lachmann zuschreibt (S. 127); niemand, der Lachmann kennt, wird das glauben. Der Taufpate ist natürlich Uhland.

A. S.

Studies in the Literary Backgrounds of English Radicalism: With special reference to the French Revolution. By M. Ray ADAMS. Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Franklin and Marshall College. 1947. Pp. vi + 330. This is a useful and readable book. With the aid of some manuscripts and of many books or pamphlets which are now inaccessible except by travel from one large library to another, Mr. Adams has collected the necessary materials for an account of eight writers who once played an important part in English radicalism during the period of the French Revolution. Though their names are familiar to students of literature and history, their writings and their personalities are little known and require the kind of interpretation which Mr. Adams has given. Most of them were figures of some public importance, and are now worth knowing because of their personal relationships with the earlier group of romantic poets and because of their intrinsic value as courageous representatives of a cause which seemed lost during the period of reaction. Mr. Adams is sympathetic towards the subjects of his biography, and the reader soon learns that these writers have been undervalued because of the successful partisan criticism of their contemporary opponents.

The group of political romanticists or enthusiasts is represented by Mary Hays, the disciple of Godwin; Mrs. Mary Robinson, "the exquisite Perdita," actress, mistress of the Prince of Wales, and ultimately poet and humanitarian novelist; Lovell and Burdett, minor disciples of Pantisocracy; and Joel Barlow, American pamphleteer and poet. The major controversialists are represented by James Mackintosh, who wrote one of the chief answers to Burke, but afterwards modified his radical sympathies. The Dissenters with republican ideas are represented by Joseph Fawcett, whom Wordsworth treated unfairly by using him as a model for the figure of the Solitary in *The Excursion*. The Whig liberals are represented by the kindly George Dyer, the friend of Lamb, and by the learned Dr. Samuel Parr, "the Whig Johnson." These are all figures whose minds were worth knowing, and the student of the period can learn to know them through Mr. Adams' book.

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